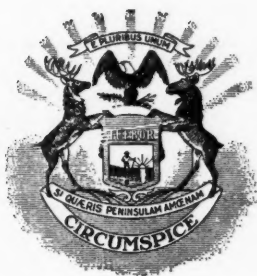


MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

Vol. XVI, Autumn Number, 1932

George N. Fuller, *Editor*



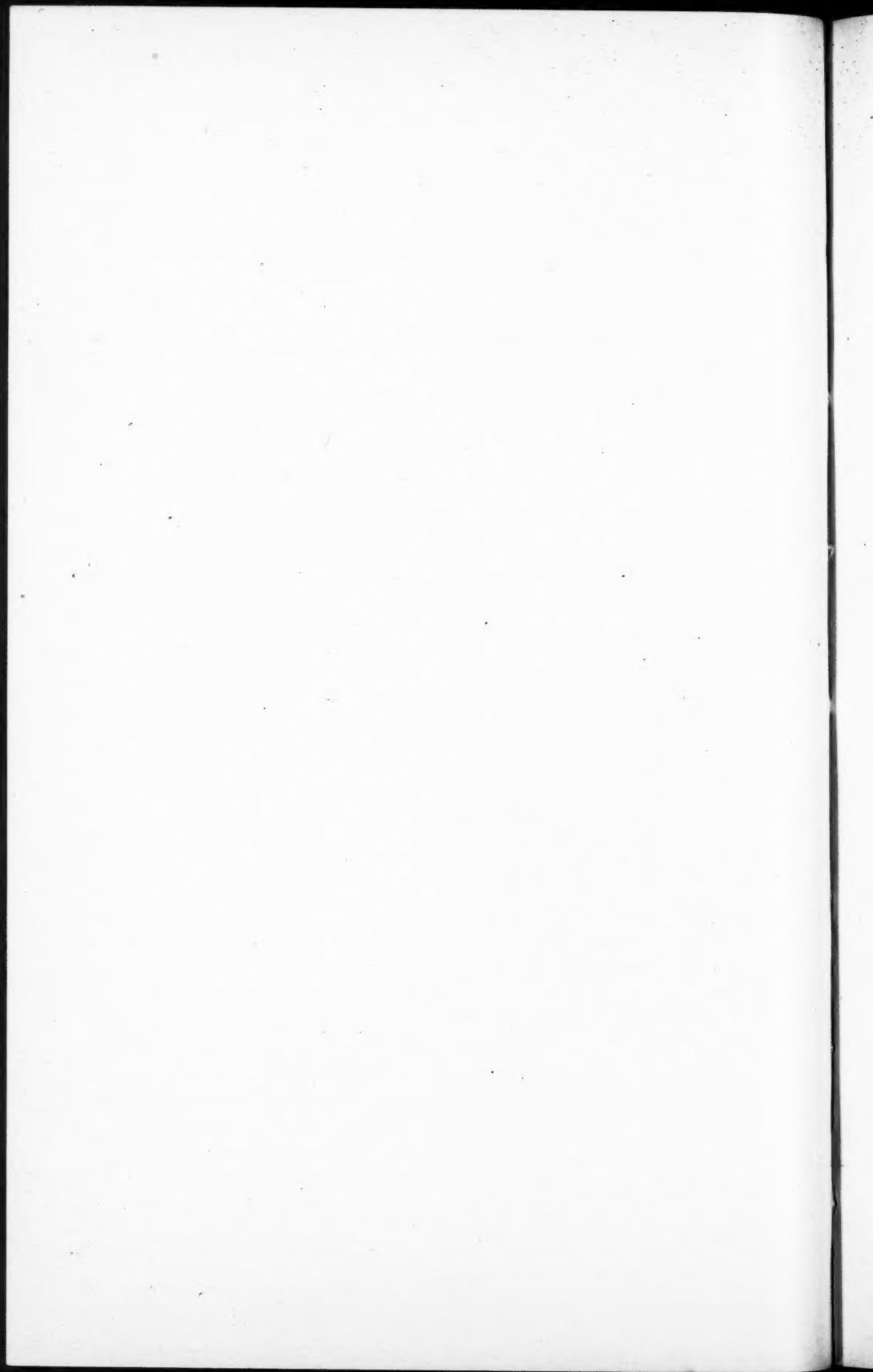
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CONTENTS

WILLIAM RUFUS SHAFTER—MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES D. RHODES	375
VILLAGE AND OPEN COUNTRY COMMUNITIES IN MICHIGAN —WALTER A. TERPENNING	384
THE LIBERTY MEETING IN DETROIT DEC. 1851—WARREN W. FLORER	398
EDWIN JAMES HULBERT, COPPER HUNTER—LEW ALLEN CHASE	406
MUSKEGON FIFTY YEARS AGO—EDWARD B. DANA	413
PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE BIG FIRE OF 1871—MRS. JOSEPHINE SAWYER	422
THE PEWABIC DISASTER—SAMUEL T. DOUGLAS	431
THE EARLY DAYS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN—WIL- FRED B. SHAW	439
SYLLABUS OF MICHIGAN HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS AND COL- LEGES—JAMES O. KNAUSS	464
HISTORICAL NOTES	487
AMONG THE BOOKS	518



MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOL. XVI

AUTUMN NUMBER

1932

WILLIAM RUFUS SHAFTER

BY MAJOR GENERAL, CHARLES D. RHODES, U. S. ARMY, RET.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THIS distinguished Michigan soldier (October 16, 1835–November 12, 1906), was the first white male child born in Kalamazoo County. His father and mother, Hugh Morris and Eliza (Sumner) Shafter, came to what was then the frontier, from Windsor, Vermont,—Hugh Morris coming first as a bachelor and building his log-cabin with the help of friendly Indians. Then, going back to the ancestral New England home for his bride, he brought her to Detroit by way of the Erie Canal. From Detroit, the young couple journeyed to their pioneer home by wagon.

The Shafter ancestors were all New Englanders. The grandparents,—William Rufus and Mary (Lovell) Shafter, as well as Mathias and Sarah (Berry) Sumner, were from Vermont and Massachusetts, and the latter line was related to Honorable Charles Sumner.¹

Here, in the Michigan wilderness, the newly-weds made for themselves a home, farmers like their forefathers and their neighbors. And here they bore and raised their son, giving him a common school education at Galesburg, and planning to make him a farmer, like his forebears. In the winter of the year 1856, William Rufus started teaching school. He was then twenty-one years of age, and was ambitious to receive further education. In the spring of 1861, while attending Prairie Seminary in Richland County, the fever of the Civil

¹*History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan, 1880.*

War reached Michigan, and without hesitation young Shafter enlisted for three years service. A few months later, he was commissioned a First Lieutenant, 7th Michigan Infantry, and in the fall of the year (October 22, 1861), took part in one of the earliest engagements of the war, that at Balls Bluff. In the ensuing year, his regiment followed the fortunes of the Army of the Potomac in the sanguinary Peninsular Campaign, and Lieutenant Shafter saw arduous military service in the Siege of Yorktown, and the battles of West Point, Fair Oaks, Savage Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill. For his gallantry at Fair Oaks, Shafter was brevetted Colonel, and in his report of the battle, General Dana has this to say of him:

Lieutenant Shafter, 7th Michigan Volunteers, in charge of pioneers, who was slightly wounded but kept in the field, furnished beautiful exhibitions of gallant conduct and intelligent activity.

Many years later, June 12, 1895, the government gave belated recognition to Shafter's personal bravery on this occasion, by award of the Congressional Medal of Honor, the citation reading:

For most distinguished gallantry in the battle of Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862, while serving as First Lieutenant, 7th Michigan Infantry, in command of pioneers, voluntarily taking an active part in that battle and remaining on the field although wounded, until the close of the engagement. (*Heitman's Hist. Register of the U. S. Army*, 1903).

So evident was young Shafter's gift for military leadership and command at this time,—he was only twenty-six years of age, that he was made a major of the 19th Michigan Infantry, Sept. 5, 1862, from a lieutenancy. In the affair at Thompson's Station, Tenn., in March of the following year, he had the ill-luck to be taken prisoner by the enemy, but was exchanged the following May. In this engagement the 19th Michigan was outnumbered almost three to one, and of it General Baird reported:

The bravery of the little band, surrounded and captured, was so conspicuous as to elicit the applause of the enemy himself, and we are informed that Colonels Coburn (in command) and Gilbert, and



WILLIAM R. SHAFTER



Major Shafter of the Nineteenth Michigan, were permitted on this account to retain their horses and side-arms.

In further recognition of Shafter's outstanding soldierly qualities, he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, June 5, 1863, and the year following, with organization by the Federal government of negro regiments, he was selected for appointment as Colonel, 17th U. S. Colored Infantry. With his new command, he took part in the important battles of December 15-16, 1864, in front of the city of Nashville. Shafter's recruit regiment, under fire for the first time, lost sixteen killed and sixty-eight wounded. The brigade commander, Colonel Morgan, reported, "Colonel Shafter, Seventeenth U. S. Colored Infantry, acquitted himself well; is cool and brave and a good disciplinarian."

A few months later, the Civil War ended with the surrender at Appomattox, and for gallant and meritorious services throughout the four years conflict, Colonel Shafter received the brevet of Brigadier-General, U. S. Volunteers, March 13, 1865.

With post-war reorganization of the Federal army, Colonel Shafter was duly mustered out of the military service, November 2, 1866. But his record had been so outstanding, that he received many strong recommendations for permanent appointment in the reorganized army. Among his advocates for reappointment was Major-General George H. ("Pap") Thomas, under whom he had served. So that in due time, based solely upon Shafter's splendid war record and with no suggestion whatever of political influence, Shafter was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, 41st U. S. Infantry, January 26, 1867, and shortly after, April 14, 1869, was assigned to the 24th Infantry, a colored organization of high standing. Then followed some ten years of isolated frontier service with his troops, much of it spent in intermittent Indian warfare. And it was during this period, too, that Colonel Shafter received from his devoted soldiers, the affectionate cognomen of "Pecos Bill," from the river of that name in Texas. This nickname clung to him for many years.

On March 4, 1879, Shafter was made Colonel, 1st Infantry, and eight years later, was given the star of a Brigadier-General,—a long period after completion of his brilliant Civil War service. He commanded in succession, the Department of the Columbia and the Department of California, and in the year 1898, had the misfortune to lose his wife, Harriet Amelia Grimes, of Athens, Michigan.

With outbreak of the Spanish War, came Shafter's great opportunity. His advancement to the grade of Major-General of Volunteers, promptly was announced. A strong expeditionary force was being organized by the War Department, for despatch to Cuba, and probably the most important thing hinged on the selection of its commander. At a White House conference between President McKinley, Secretary of War Alger, General Miles, and Adjutant-General Corbin, the qualifications of many officers were discussed. It was Miles who, putting his finger on Shafter's name said: "If you want a man with force and ability, to insure the success of such a task, there is the man to do it!" Shafter was selected.

The task before him was stupendous. For although the rank and file of the little regular army was second to none in efficiency, no expeditionary force of size had ever left our shores; the army staff was untrained and uncoordinated for overseas fighting in a tropical country; and the hastily organized volunteer forces were as yet totally inexperienced and undisciplined. Nevertheless, with characteristic energy, General Shafter set upon his new problem, and on April 29, 1898, established his headquarters at Tampa, Florida. His staff and expeditionary troops were organized with the utmost despatch, for it was imperative that the blow to Spanish rule in Cuba, be struck quickly. After a month's delay, awaiting definite orders, the expedition set sail for Santiago-de-Cuba, June 12, 1898, with some thirty-two army transports carrying 819 officers and 15,058 enlisted men, in addition to teamsters, packers, clerks, and war correspondents. A landing was effected at Daiquiri, June 21, under the guns of the American fleet. The town of Siboney was taken two days later, and the

engagement of Las Guasimas was fought by the Regulars and Rough Riders, June 24. This opened the way to Santiago, over what were probably the worst roads in the world.

After a more or less hasty reconnoissance of the Spanish defenses in front of the city, General Shafter ordered the main attack for July 1, with a secondary attack by Lawton's division upon the Spanish garrison at El Caney, a suburb. By late afternoon the heights along the San Juan River, about one mile from Santiago, were occupied by American troops; but contrary to Shafter's plan of battle, Lawton's column met with such resistance at El Caney that a junction of the two forces could not be effected until the morning of July 2. The battle was continued July 2-3, with severe losses to the American troops, and on the latter date, General Shafter demanded from General Toral, Spanish commander, the surrender of the city. This was refused, but when Toral became cognizant of the almost total destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet by the American naval forces under Admiral Sampson, he reconsidered his decision. After consultation by cable with Madrid, he formally capitulated July 17. The surrender included 23,500 combatants (IV Spanish Corps), of which some 13,000 were in garrisons outside of the city of Santiago.² It was characteristic of General Shafter's chivalrous nature that he courteously declined to accept General Toral's sword, in the formalities of the surrender between the lines of the two opposing army corps.

During the armistice which preceded the final surrender of the Spanish garrisons, the health of the American troops was most seriously affected by the ravages of tropical malaria and yellow fever. To these misfortunes were to be added the discomforts and unsanitary conditions which surrounded troops from the temperate zone, campaigning for the first time in a tropical rainy season. The result was that the morale of the expeditionary force was most seriously impaired, and at the very time when the surrender of Santiago was held in the balance, General Shafter was considering with-

²Miley, *In Cuba with Shafter*, 1899.

drawal of the besieging troops to high ground, some five miles from the city. These conditions were of course cabled to the press by correspondents with the expedition, and a chain of newspapers whose representative at Shafter's headquarters was deported by the General for cause, was particularly vitriolic in its criticism of General Shafter's administration of affairs. Part of the criticism took the form of calling attention to the fact that during the critical operations of July 1-3, General Shafter was a sick man, and unable, for physical reasons, to personally maintain contact with the most advanced troops. Shafter has answered his critics in the following statement:

On June 30, I was on my horse nearly all day, looking at the country and preparing for the battle next day. It was very hot, and I came near suffering a sun-stroke. I was nauseated and very dizzy at first. During the battle of July 1, I felt very ill, though I kept on my horse most of the day; July 2, I transacted the business of headquarters, though for a time I found it necessary to lie down. As for four days I was unable to take food, I began to fear a serious illness.³

That General Shafter succeeded in bringing about the very results for which he was sent to Santiago-de-Cuba, in spite of physical ailments which would have discouraged a less determined personality, is in itself sufficient answer to the critics of the years 1898-99. It is beyond any doubt that the commanding-general ably conducted the details of the campaign,—in person when possible and through competent staff-officers, orderlies, and the field-telegraph, when no longer able to mount his horse and visit the advanced positions of his troops. Viewed in the light of subsequent, World War experience, he did what most corps commanders are now expected to do: plan the battle, maintain contact with the line through subordinates, and give the necessary supplementary orders to insure victory. Considering the country's unpreparedness in the year 1898 for an overseas war in the tropics, it is doubtful if better results could have been attained than were brought

³Shafter, "The Capture of Santiago-de-Cuba," *Century Magazine*, February, 1899.

about from the Shafter expedition. In this connection, it is pertinent to remark that upon the occasion of a visit to Omaha, by President McKinley, in the autumn of the year 1898, he made this statement regarding General Shafter's capture of Santiago-de-Cuba:

He embarked his command and set sail, well knowing that there were deficiencies in his equipment. But instead of waiting for what he wanted, he took what he could get, and brought back what he went for.

And, as history has recorded, the American troops took formal possession of the city, and on August 8, 1898, General Shafter successfully effected the re-embarkation of his army of occupation for Montauk Point, L. I., although nearly eighty per-cent were ill, upon landing. When we contemplate from the vantage point of modern medical science, our dense ignorance of tropical diseases, thirty years ago, it seems somewhat miraculous that Shafter's little army was not entirely wiped out by disease, before it had even begun the accomplishment of it's mission.

Commenting on the resourcefulness and intelligent initiative of the American soldier, as exemplified in overcoming the difficulties of the Santiago campaign, General Shafter has paid this tribute to those who made his success possible:

Santiago has been called a soldiers campaign. There is a great deal of truth in that, but the implication that any important movement or action was taken without orders or forethought, is untrue. When the final attack was made on July 1, individual officers and soldiers, and in fact most of the officers and men, distinguished themselves by gallant and intelligent performance of duty. They were intelligent American soldiers; each one was thinking of what he was doing, and not depending for all his thinking, on the officers over them. In this respect, the soldiers of the American army are superior to those of any other army in the world.

In October, 1898, General Shafter was assigned to command the important Department of the East, with headquarters at Governor's Island. But he loved the Pacific Coast, and in a few days was transferred to his old command, the Department

of California and the Columbia. He remained at San Francisco, during the remainder of his active service, and was retired as a Brigadier-General by operation of law, October 16, 1899. However, as a special mark of respect and esteem, the President continued him in his command, under his volunteer rank as Major-General, until June 30, 1901.

Meanwhile, in token of his country's appreciation of General Shafter's life-long and distinguished service, the Congress of the United States, on February 2, 1901, enacted into law a provision making him a Major-General on the retired list of the army. Until his death after but a few days illness, November 12, 1906, he made his home with his only child, a daughter, Mrs. Mary Shafter McKittrick, upon a beautiful California ranch, near Bakersfield, California. During these last years, he allied himself with various patriotic organizations, and was an active member of the Loyal Legion of the United States, the Spanish War Veterans, Sons of the Revolution, and Grand Army of the Republic. Of the last named, General Shafter was Commander of the Department of California and Nevada, at the time of his death. Interment with the highest military honors took place at the Presidio of San Francisco, and was attended by many distinguished personages and by representatives of various societies and associations.⁴

General Shafter was a military leader of forceful character, aggressive personality, and unquestioned ability. With respect to the last, it may be said that two of his uncles, Oscar Lovell Shafter and James McMillan Shafter, attained the highest rank among the jurists of California,—the former reaching the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of California. Beneath a gruff exterior, which at times smacked of severity, Shafter possessed a tender heart and a sympathetic attitude towards subordinates. He was ever ready to fight for the under-dog, even at risk of differing with superiors.

The story is told of him, that upon revisiting scenes of his boyhood near Galesburg, he ran upon an old stage-driver whom

⁴*San Francisco Call, Examiner, Chronicle*, Nov. 13-16 and the *Army and Navy Journal*, Nov. 17, 1906.

he had known. "Yes, I remember you well," said the General, "because you are the driver who used to put on brakes, going up hill!"

The driver was non-plussed, and somewhat irritated by the statement, until the General explained with great amusement, that the boys of Galesburg, knowing that the stage was hauled by a team of runaway ponies, used to covertly pelt the team with stones, to see them run. This gave rise to the story that the stage-driver put on brakes "going up hill". When the driver understood that "Bill Shafter" was the active leader in this prank, he said he felt proud that a future Major-General gave a licking to his team of ponies.

On August 22, 1919, there was unveiled and dedicated in the public square at Galesburg, Michigan, a monument to Major-General Shafter, erected by the State of Michigan. It consists, in it's simple beauty, of a bronze bust by Mr. Pompeo Coppini, Chicago sculptor, resting upon an impressive granite base. The stirring, memorial address,⁵ was delivered by Honorable William W. Potter, of Hastings, Chairman, Monument Commission. And upon the thirteen-acre farm where William Rufus Shafter was, many years ago, wont to guide the plow through furrows of Michigan soil, the log cabin where Shafter was born—insignificant and homely in the light of modern dwellings—has been acquired by the commonwealth, as a perpetual memorial to one of Michigan's distinguished soldiers.

⁵*Michigan History Magazine*, April-July, 1920.

VILLAGE AND OPEN COUNTRY COMMUNITIES IN MICHIGAN

BY WALTER A. TERPENNING, PH.D.

Western State Teachers College

KALAMAZOO

GEOGRAPHICALLY and historically, Michigan has had some advantages and some disadvantages in the development of its community life as compared with other states in the Union. Many of these factors have been discussed at length by Dr. George N. Fuller, Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission and Editor of the *Michigan History Magazine* in his book, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*. Among favorable geographic factors, he mentions its climate, topography, drainage, and soils which are the result of its being near the geographic center of the continent and within the range of glaciation.

It has a climate similar to that of New York and New England, but favorably modified in all seasons of the year by the Great Lakes. The effect of Michigan's position upon its climate, he says,¹ is modified by the Great Lakes through the agency of the prevailing westerly winds. This results in a moderate temperature, an amount of rain and snow that helps to give variety to the fauna and flora, a lengthening of the growing period of vegetation, and the protection of the tender flora from the extremes of heat and cold. "The resulting healthfulness, with respect to those diseases which accompany extremes of temperatures," he says, "has been of much consequence to settlement." Grand Haven, for example, has a temperature about 13 degrees warmer in winter and a growing season about eighteen days longer than Milwaukee. Michigan's mean annual temperature of forty-six degrees Fahrenheit is within the zone of greatest health. Besides the influence of the Great Lakes which form great reservoirs of heat, the uneven topography keeps the air in motion and prevents frosts. Evaporation from the lakes and streams moderate the

¹Op. Cit., p. 2.

temperature; the forests affect the supply of moisture; the lively streams, good natural drainage, and porous drift formations insure pure drinking water; and the pine forests produce ozone. The main disease from which settlers suffered was "fever and ague".

Michigan has rich and varied natural resources, including minerals, building materials, water power, and twenty kinds of soil, ranging from fine clay to coarsest gravel. The marl in many overgrown lakes is excellent fertilizer. There are nine times as many trees native to Michigan as to Great Britain. The natural resources almost justify the boast of the Michigan Manual that Michigan could exist as an isolated empire while her people enjoyed all the reasonable comforts and luxuries of life.

These, then, were some of the geographic factors which helped to determine the rapidity of settlement and the character of the occupations and to furnish the solid basis for community life.

The historical factors were probably of equal importance. The speed with which the State was populated, for example, allowed little time for orderly growth of community organization. The poor means of communication and transportation were a handicap to such organization and resulted, for one thing, in the establishment of trading centers which are closer together than is necessary since the improvement of such means.

Michigan was first seen by the white man in 1634 and became an English possession in 1763. Detroit was founded in 1701, but the first period of Michigan settlement from eastern states did not begin until after the War of 1812. Before that time, a few settlers came from Canada, the so-called "Muskrat Frenchmen", most of whom occupied the territory around Detroit. This early French population was the best human material out of which to build communities that Michigan has ever received. The French pioneers established themselves in compact settlements along the rivers and near their outlets, and have left their names both to the rivers and to

the settlements. They were a neighborly group and subordinated every other consideration to the realization of their community ideals. They disregarded the advantages of good soil and location, took up small holdings which ran back from the rivers in narrow strips, and arranged their dwellings in such a manner as to allow for easy communication and social solidarity. They were an honest, easy-going, hospitable, and religious people; but were looked down upon by later settlers largely because of their farming and other means of livelihood were as traditional as their neighborliness. Hence they left no permanent influence that can be discerned.

The most rapid period of inland settlement followed the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. Oakland County, for instance, had a population of only 330 in 1820. In 1830 it had grown to 4,911, and it trebled in the next four years.

At that time, Michigan was considered "out west" and its pioneer settlements probably had about as little of the traditional European communal spirit which characterized settlements in the eastern and southern states, as did those of the most remote west. The selection of Michigan's population, in respect to co-operative character and other neighborly traits, was from then on not more favorable than that which sorted the settlers for other pioneer communities. It was settled almost entirely by the early waves of migrating individualists from York State and other eastern communities who were as land hungry as Pokom in Tolstoy's story, "How Much Land Does a Man Need".

The settlers were mainly preoccupied with the idea of building homes in the wilderness, not with the thought of establishing communities. They were ambitious, adventure-some men and women, but had as much of the anti-social, pioneering spirit as did those who followed them and passed on to the prairies of the middle west and the gold fields of the west.

As compared with the prairie settlers, they had the social disadvantage that the land they settled was wooded, and the forests isolated them psychologically as well as visually. They

were comparatively free from the external pressure of Indian hostility, a pressure which helped to solidify western communities.

The Indian title to land in the lower peninsula was surrendered almost entirely by treaties in 1807, 1819, 1821, and 1836. The tribes were cowed by the results of the struggles of Pontiac and Tecumseh. They received some encouragement from the British in their opposition to the treaty of 1807. They shared in the sixty tons of presents from the British in 1829. The Black Hawk War in 1832 disturbed the settlers and prospective settlers, but, by 1840, the last of the tribal Indians were removed to western reservations. The pioneers probably got some sense of security from the location of forts at Dearborn and Mackinaw. Then, too, Michigan pioneer communities no doubt suffered from the fact that they had among them a larger percentage of traders and trappers, who were less concerned in establishing permanent residence than the farmers who located in the prairies.

But Michigan communities had an advantage, in so far as community life was concerned, in the fact that the timbered land, the varied nature of the soil, and the absence of land to be distributed by railroads, prevented the permanent establishment of such large holdings as those farther west. The greater variety of occupations, including lumbering, fishing, etc., was a community asset, since social unity is a unity of differentiation, and specialization fosters interdependence as has been suggested as far back as Aristotle. Again, they migrated a shorter distance and had a better means of contact with home folks than western pioneers, and so were less cut-off from home communities. There was some tendency to transplant the home communities, as one is reminded in touring Michigan and New York when he discovers the duplicate names such as Albion, Athens, Batavia, Kinderhook, Lancaster, Lewiston, Manchester, Northville, Ovid, Oxford, Pittsford, Rochester, Utica, Watertown and Wayland; and such reminders of social origin as Vermontville.

The numerous streams and lakes used for transportation, fishing, and water power encouraged the establishment of nuclei for communities around mills, fisheries, and transportation headquarters.

In northern Michigan there were three peculiar factors of the physical environment which hindered the development of satisfactory community life. The poor soil was a fundamental disadvantage to the development of farming communities. The lumbering business was transitory. The most permanent and well-organized communities were those engaged in mining. Some of these, however, have degenerated recently because of exhaustion of copper or the decrease in its value.

The present situation of Michigan rural communities is not a very happy one. In general, it can be said that Michigan rural communities are becoming increasingly combinations of village and open-country dwellers, although the interdependence of villagers and farmers is still largely unconscious and confined almost entirely to economic interests. The "economic man" was never less an abstraction than in the mutual thinking of village and open-country groups concerning each other. This traditional attitude stands squarely in the way of co-operative effort. A certain city and surrounding farmers, for example, recently undertook to organize for the promotion of mutual interests such as the establishing of a farmers' market, but the effort terminated when the farmers suspected, probably correctly, that the urban members were trying to use the organization mainly for the extension of urban markets. A similar attitude prevents the co-operation between farmers and villagers, a co-operation necessary to the building of consolidated schools, co-operative marketing, and other progressive organization. The reason for this attitude is perhaps as much the fault of one party as of the other. Because of the phenomenal growth of the near-by cities of Detroit and Chicago, Michigan villages had in common the exalted ambition to expand into great industrial and commercial centers. Their interests were deflected in the direction of urban, not rural, life. These ambitions and their sense of

independence of the farming population were revealed in their insistence upon separate organization, incorporation of land reaching beyond their actual limits, and especially in the superiority complex obvious in their necessary association with farmers. Most of them have suffered the disillusionment of middle age, and have settled down to be merely Podunks, not Detroiters, but few have suspected the possibility of another kind of expansion as the centers of self-respecting, and largely self-sustaining, and self-sufficient, rural communities.

The surrounding farmers, on the other hand, have inherited the traditional pioneering illusion of independence and have gone on singing, "The Farmer is the Man Who Feeds Them All", until they have almost forgotten that one needs more than feeding. The farmer's residential isolation and the occupational homogeneity of his immediate neighborhood prevent any strong sense of moral unity between him and fellow farmers. His fanatical notion of independence does not, in the absence of high communal idealism, give him much sense of respectability and, although he apologetically walks the village dweller's streets and accepts the merchant's glad-handed but expensive service, gloats not at all on his feeding function and half envies the villager his privilege of just being fed. When, as the result of prosperity or starvation, he actually does retire from the feeding process and becomes a village dweller, he ceases to be a farmer only in occupation, and his pioneering propensities usually only widen the gap of *social* distance between himself and the native villagers by a ratio inverse to the physical distance between them. This mutually suspicious attitude on the part of villagers and open-countrymen reaches a climax in overt acts which instigate, or result in, open antipathy. To the villagers the open-country means *wide-open* country, to be used as picnic ground, sparking space, rubbish dump or hunting and fishing preserve. The countryman feels no obligation of loyalty to the local market and looks upon the village school and other village institutions as agencies for weaning his sons and daughters from the farrow breast of rural life and farm labor.

The result is that instead of a village and an open country who cherish each other in faithful fructifying conjugality, they are largely estranged by a triangular complication of loyalties. The village has flirted and prostituted herself in her urban preference, regardless of urban disdain, until she has lost what self-respect and respectability she had and has suffered a premature sterility. Her natural spouse has practiced a lonely continent asceticism and harbored a festering suspicion that will make a reconciliation difficult. As in all such irregular propagation, their institutions, the more or less illegitimate offspring of the village and the cryptogamous progeny of the vegetating open-country, are malnourished and lack the edifying example of co-operative, congenial monogamy.

The total population of Michigan is 4,842,325.

The census distinctions between city and village populations mean little since Michigan cities range in population from as low as 61 (Au Sable), and villages to as high as 12,716 (Ecorse). The difference is only in the formal procedure of incorporation. If one makes the distinction between urban and rural made in the United States census before 1930 and classifies as rural those centers with less than 2500 inhabitants, Michigan has an urban population of 3,184,382 and a rural population of 1,657,943. Of this rural population, 300,042 are in rural villages and 1,357,901 in the open country.

In 1920 slightly over forty percent of Michigan's population was rural. In 1930, thirty-four percent was rural. Only four states,—Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey,—have as much as ten percent more of their citizens living in urban centers. But the domination of social institutions by urban population in Michigan is much greater than the numerical advantage which they represent. The rural communities are handicapped much more by the difficulties of their organization than by their comparative numerical weakness.

Perhaps the puniest and most sickly institution of Michigan village and open-country communities is that of government. In fact, government in rural communities comes as

nearly as possible to being a monstrosity, and it is a pity that its navel cord was ever tied. It has everything wrong with it that could be wrong. It is hydra-headed, entirely lacking in unity, inefficient, wasteful, impotent. A truer figure would be to say that when rural government was conceived, the conception resulted in a whole litter of heterogeneous pups. So far as positive, governmental influence is concerned, rural communities live in a *political vacuum*. The difficulty is not so much that the forms of county and township governments are defective, although they could not be worse, as that such communities have been and are lacking in moral unity, co-operative character, integrity, lawfulness, and other primary idealism. Moral unity is the mother of primary ideals, and the parent or parents in this case are unfitted to bring up a healthy offspring. The lack of unity and the inefficiency of rural government are mainly a reflection of the same characteristics of the general community organization. A fair sample of rural political strength was shown in the last election of a school commissioner in a certain Michigan county, when the successful candidate had a majority in only one township, and that the one in which there are only two schools which come under her supervision.

The weakness and futility of Michigan's village and open-country neighborhoods is revealed in the school system. Although the idea of the State's responsibility for education is as old as Plato's *Republic*, and although America has professed a belief in the desirability of public schools since the time of Horace Mann, our system is still only semi-public. Our "phobia" against interfering with local and private initiative has stood in the way of state responsibility so far as the support of rural schools is concerned, and has left rural communities the unequal burden of supporting their schools separately. There is no more reason for this than that the barbers should have to educate their children separately. Every argument for public schools in general applies to the thesis that rural children should enjoy educational advantages equal to those of urban children. And yet, because

of inadequate financial support of rural education, Michigan rural schools are still muddling along with one-room buildings, poorly equipped, and presided over by teachers who have received their training in those sad imitations of "higher education", the 51 County Normals, or in the minimum courses required in the state teacher-training institutions. Until recently rural people have had practically none of the benefits of state teacher training schools, for the support of which farmers have borne the heaviest burden of taxation.

In the Year of Our Lord, 1932, Michigan still has 5,882 one-teacher schools. Farm children get less schooling in eight years than city children in six years because of the shorter school year and less regular school attendance. Rural America has 18,000 consolidated schools, of which total Michigan has only 86. Michigan has as great inequality between rural and urban schools in other respects as the country as a whole. While 53% of the pupils of the United States in the elementary and high schools are rural as against 47% urban, 26% of the children (15-18 years of age) in high schools are rural as against 72% urban. Of rural young people, 4.6% go to college; of urban young people, 12.8%. The cost per pupil in average daily attendance is \$75 for rural and \$130 for urban. The average salary for rural teachers is \$885, as against \$1,878 for supervisors and principles.

The explanation for this undemocratic inequality is the *community weakness* which results from the lack of co-operative character on the part of rural people and the mutual suspicion and the absence of common interest and understanding between farmers and villagers. The experience of those who have sought to remedy this defect, the promoters of consolidated schools, for instance, have shown that most of the opposition has come from the farmers themselves, who suffer most from the inequality. The solution of the problem will have to wait the generation and growth of a larger rural community consciousness and solidarity, which will encompass the rural village and surrounding open-country. The partition of that open-country between the village centers may

have to be effected by a plebiscite of the open-country districts.

The climax of the individualism of rural people, with its accompanying suspicion and antagonism and cut-throat competition, is to be found where one might least expect it, in the religious organization of village and open-country communities. When the farmers of a typical southern Michigan county are divided among twenty-four religious denominations, as many as three of which are represented in the four families living on one mile of road, and when a typical, southern rural village with a population so small that it needs to import two hundred farmers to furnish a membership large enough to equal the norm for an efficient church organization, and yet tries to support five churches, one wonders if religious organization in such communities is not only useless as an integrating force, but positively *disintegrating* in its influence. It is not surprising that approximately seventy-five percent of the farm families in such a county do not have a single representative in the membership of such churches and that the average attendance in all five churches in such a village, as reported by one of my students who made the study, could be seated in the gallery of one of the churches. Rural churches have much opportunity to test the scriptural promise concerning "where two or three are gathered together". One can imagine the plight of the Winbrennarrians and Burning Bush and other unfortunate denominational variations in the "reign of tooth and claw" which characterizes denominational relationships. In fact, the status of the rural church seems almost to justify the conclusion of such students as Professor David Snedden, as expressed in a recent letter to me, to the effect that the rural church is a total loss and might as well be completely abandoned first as last.

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The other sporadic and spasmodic efforts of rural communities to meet their vaguely felt social and economic needs in an organized way are hardly more promising as shown by my intensive study of the farm families of four rural townships of Lapeer and Hillsdale Counties, in which it was

found that, of the 944 families, one was represented in five organizations, four families in four organizations, fifty-eight families in three organizations, one hundred sixty-eight families in two organizations, and two hundred ninety-nine families in one organization, while *four hundred nine* families were represented in no organizations whatsoever. What A. E. says of American Co-operative business organization is true of Michigan rural organization in general, i.e., it is like concrete without enough cement in it.

The only possibility of binding a free society together is through the multiplication of reciprocal obligations and the creation of a general interdependence among its members. Such a binding together and general interdependence is necessary to efficient and happy living; but, before the multiplying can take place, there must be a multiplicand as well as a multiplier. There can be no generalization without localization, no macrocosm without a microcosm in the matter of social interdependence. We need not expect to consummate a national or international unity without a concomitant, small-scale unity constituted by reciprocal obligations and interests among the members of that group, for which the name "community" or "neighborhood" seems most appropriate. I should give as authority for this Professor Cooley's well-argued thesis for the importance of primary groups in generating ideals, the extension of which makes possible all secondary organization. I, therefore, know of no subject of more fundamental importance than that of the community.

Michigan village and open-country communities are no exception to the rule that American rural society is defective in that it lacks that multiplicand of local interdependence and solidarity, the propagation of which is equal to large-scale interdependence and solidarity.

In spite of the disorganization and inefficiency of Michigan village and open-country communities, there is some hope for their improvement and this not exclusively because any change must be for the better.

The first step toward that improvement must be an understanding of those ecological and psychological factors which account for their present condition. This understanding is to be gained only by careful and well-trained students.

The process will involve sympathetic and devoted leadership.

It will require a progressive and consistent reorganization of rural communities and their institutions and the generation and development of primary idealism and co-operative followership. The transformation cannot be left alone to the bootstrap-lifting initiative of rural people, but must depend partly upon national, state, and urban co-operation.

We must think of the rural community as it is and as it might become, and it is to be noticed that I no longer compare in this respect only our rural and urban communities. While rural people have something to learn from urban dwellers in the way of sanitation, public health, etc., I have a much better basis of comparison, namely that with the European rural village system. The Michigan and American rural communities could well emulate the spirit and organization of such village communities and use our improved communication and transportation in seeking to realize their solidarity and efficiency. Among those systems, I should choose the Danish as the most likely one for our imitation. When enclosures took place in Denmark, the holdings were divided in what might be called apple-pie order, allowing the majority of the farmers to live on the apex of their holdings in the old village form of residence. The result was a combination of village and open-country residence in which the village with its intimate communal traditions, formed the nucleus of the community. While the apple-pie division is now largely broken up, the community is still a combination, and while there are many other factors which help to account for the consummate efficiency of those communities in co-operative endeavor, it cannot be fully explained apart from this fact.

Rural Michigan has some advantages over the other states and other communities in the possibilities of such accomplishment.

It has 440 villages and so-called cities with populations under 2500 or one to every 131.7 square miles of land surface. Since less than half of this surface (17,118,951 acres of a total acreage of 36,787,200 acres) is farmed, there are more than a sufficient number of villages to furnish nucleated community centers for the whole rural population.

The farms are comparatively small. In the 1930 census, there were 169,372 farms with an average of 101.1 acres each. The average for the nation as a whole is 145.1 acres. The small size of her holdings is one reason given for the success of Denmark's rural communities.

Another reason for Denmark's success is considered to be her high percentage of resident ownership. Eighty-five per cent, i. e., 141,647 or all but 26,195 of Michigan farms, are operated by owners or part owners. The percentage of tenantry in the nation as a whole is 38.6.

An advantage of rural communities over urban ones is the fact that land values are much more stable than most other values. The value of Michigan farms exclusive of buildings during the period from 1900 to 1930 has increased from \$423,569,950, to \$638,023,046. The increase of over \$200,000,000 since 1900 is largely accounted for by the improvement of the land in the way of fencing, draining, etc. Goethe's fool who, during the inflation, invested in land is still wise.

The replanning of rural communities in line with the above suggestion would necessitate less destruction of property and other costs and less radical change than that necessary in replanning urban communities.

Michigan communities have a sufficiently heterogeneous population, and comparatively few stagnant, ingrown communities such as are found in eastern states.

Its variety of natural resources and the opportunity for the development of a corresponding variety of occupational interests are favorable to community life.

Its 21,000 miles of improved highway and other improved communication and transportation are community assets.

The studies that are being made by such educational institu-

tions as the Michigan State College, and the experiments in community betterment being made by the Kellogg and Couzens Foundations and by such individuals as Mr. Crouse of Hartlands, and Mr. Graham of Grant are hopeful efforts in the solution of the problem of Village and Open-Country Communities.

Perhaps the most hopeful tendency is the trend away from school-district-sized organization such as cross-road churches, small farmers' clubs, etc., to the larger community enterprises such as the Farm Bureau, and village-centered religious, recreational and educational activities. The beginning of this change left the community largely without "form and void"; but the new community is beginning to take on form and to function progressively.

THE LIBERTY MEETING IN DETROIT DEC. 1851

BY DR. WARREN W. FLORER

ANN ARBOR

IN the March days of 1848 entire Europe was awakened by the proclamation of the second Republic in France on the 24th of February. Hungary, Italy, Poland, and German principalities and states breathed the very air of freedom which filled the breast of a suffering humanity with a new hope. To this was added the most powerful force of the decade, nationality. A renaissance along the lines of humanistic education had given a certain leaven to the new conception of the freedom of man, combined with a deeper study of constitutional rights and the recognition of the importance of economic principles of democracy.

The most important meetings, taking everything into consideration, were those of Offenburg, September 12, 1847 and March 19, 1848, and Freiburg, March 26, 1848. The people had found themselves for decades in a double struggle for political independence and national development. The main demands of the Offenburg meetings were freedom of the press; the allegiance of the army to the constitution; personal liberty; universal education, but an education remodelled to suit the demands of the new industrial and commercial era, an education which should prepare the young to become citizens in the new national state,—a just taxation, and social justice. The demands were to be protected by a German Parliament, not to be modelled on any definite system, old or modern, but shaped to meet the demands of a rejuvenated German people, adequately prepared to insure lasting liberty and peace.

This new Messianic hope seemed to be almost realized when the German states were shocked by the news of the Berlin disaster. The Baden people, who were better organized in some particulars however, were not dismayed. The Freiburg Meeting was called by the chairman of this district, Dr. Hermann Kiefer. The most important question before this meet-

ing was the resolution calling for a new constitution to be drawn up by the Parliament on the foundations of a republican united state.

Then followed immediately the Frankfurt Parliament which ended in sad disunion. The different schools could not agree. The arrests and prosecutions which followed exerted an oppressive influence upon the minds of those who had hoped so much. A year of toil and suffering passed slowly away and again the young men of Baden determined to make a final stand for a lasting condition of liberty. They drew up their declaration of independence, this time supported by an army of considerable size, led by heroes of the different Rhine countries. They fought the good fight of liberty but fell before the organized imperial forces. They were compelled to become fugitives. Most of these men sailed to the land of freedom, coming by the way of Strassburg, Paris, Rotterdam and London, and finally arriving in New York they either took the southern path to the West or came by the way of the Great Lakes.

Some of the men, especially those of the southern Rhine district had heard much about the advantages of Washtenaw County, Michigan, settled by their neighbors, the Swabians. They also knew the story of the young priest of Laon, Father Marquette, and the story of Cadillac. The name of Detroit meant to them a beautiful place, for Senator Lewis Cass of Detroit had eloquently pleaded the cause of Kossuth, Mazzini, and Kiefer in the halls of the Senate. Detroit, therefore, was the goal for quite a large group of these educated men whose families have helped in the upbuilding of the commonwealth of Michigan, the preservation of the Union and the conservation of a democracy which is "safe for the world."

Two eventful years passed rapidly away. Societies had been formed for mutual protection, for the ennobling of labor, and for the defence of the fatherland. They cherished the ideals of "Father" Jahn, the founder of the Turner Societies, of Alexander von Humboldt and of Friedrich Schiller. The Military organizations, the City Guards and the Scot Guards,

formed by Mayor J. V. Ruehle, indicate that the soldiers of Liberty had not become conscientious objectors in the new Republic, but had remained true to their determination to keep the reins of government in the hands of the people. They also kept alive the memories of their struggle and read with great interest about the lot of the patriots who had fallen into the hands of the princes. Realizing the educational value of music, poetry, art, and learning, they established societies to cultivate the ideals recorded by their master artists.

Perhaps the most romantic story of 1849 struggle was the rescue of Professor Gottfried Kinkel by Carl Schurz. The news came to the City of the Straits that the distinguished and learned patriot was to come to America to help establish a national loan for the purpose of finishing their great struggle. The labors of Louis Kossuth also increased the interest in this work which had been so ably defended by Cass. The fugitives seemed to live again the story of Liberty and extended an invitation to Professor Kinkel to visit Detroit. In order to make the event an appropriate occasion they invited the Common Council to participate in the reception to the Herald of Liberty.

Zachariah Chandler, sturdy apostle of liberty, was Mayor of the City of Detroit and encouraged the committee of the German Societies in every way. The resolution adopted by the Common Council of the City of Detroit November 18, 1857 is of great interest: "*Resolved*, That the Common Council have learned with sincere gratification that the distinguished German patriot, scholar and statesman, is about to visit this city, and in view of his great sufferings and privations, we esteem it an honor as American citizens and lovers of constitutional liberty to tender him the hand of fraternity and cordiality, as he comes within our borders, in token of the sympathy which we feel in the noble cause for which he has so long and ardently labored and so deeply suffered. Coming to us, like our beloved Lafayette, from the dungeons of despotism, we receive him with peculiar pleasure as an intended, but liberated victim of those institutions of the Old World so

abhorrent to the free citizen of the New; and express to him our high respect for his personal worth, and our unfeigned sympathies for the cause to which he is devoted." Signed J. L. Carew, Joseph Hoek, George Miller, C. W. Jackson, and C. H. Buhl.¹

In commenting on the coming of Professor Kinkel the *Free Press* said:

"It is unnecessary to say one word to our citizens in behalf of the noble German who is coming among us. He will be received with warm hearts and outstretched arms by our entire population eager to welcome the exile, who suffered all things except death, for his country's liberty."²

"His enthusiastic reception will afford another gratifying proof that 'republics are not ungrateful to the true and living exponents of the doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity.'"

On the arrival of Professor Kinkel the *Free Press* extended him a hearty welcome. "This distinguished and unswerving patriot, ejected from his Fatherland by the despotism of the present European system, arrived in this city, we learn, on Saturday night last. With every disposition to honor him, to whom honor is due, our citizens will have an opportunity we trust, to extend the hand of earnest friendship to the man, and sympathy to a cause so just as that in which he is engaged."³

In a subsequent issue of the paper the *Free Press* extended again her hand of fellowship:

"The advent of this distinguished apostle of liberty in the city has elicited the congratulations of all classes of our citizens. It is justly considered a privilege to take by the hand the noble hearted soldier in freedom's cause, and bid him welcome to the Metropolis of the Peninsular State. He has the active sympathy of our people in his efforts to arouse public sentiment on this side of the water in behalf of the heaving and struggling masses of suffering humanity who are

¹Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council of the City of Detroit, 1844-1852, p. 1700.

²Detroit Daily Free Press. Nov. 20, 1851, p. 2, col. 3.

³Ibid, Nov. 24, 1851, p. 2, col. 2.

stretching forth their hands for succor to the myriads of happy and contented dwellers in this free republic.

"The worthy professor was escorted to the Biddle House on his arrival, where he is receiving the visits of our good people, who are pouring upon him in great numbers. His warm and cordial reception by the civic authorities and our entire population must be exceedingly gratifying to our German fellow citizens, as evincing a sympathy and fellowship well becoming the character of genuine republicanism."⁴

The torch-light procession given in honor of Professor Kinkel was a very effective demonstration. The procession halted at the Biddle House where an immense concourse had assembled. Mayor Chandler introduced the distinguished guest in a very appropriate manner. The remarks of the orator were listened to with great interest. Effective addresses by ex-Mayor Ladue and Caspar Butz, editor of the *Tribune* were also given. Then followed a serenade by the Harmonicon Corps which sang several patriotic airs corresponding to the ideals of the soldier of 1848-49 and also American patriotic songs.

The mass meeting called in behalf of furthering the object of the mission of Professor Kinkel was called to order in the City Hall by Major J. V. Ruehle. On motion Mayor Chandler and Julius Movius were chosen presidents. Dr. Hermann Kiefer, E. Wild of Ann Arbor, Col. A. T. McReynolds and E. V. Cicotte were elected vice-presidents and W. T. Roth and Caspar Butz were elected secretaries.

Mayor Chandler was followed by Mr. Movius who called the attention of the audience to the affairs in Europe and urged all citizens not to forget the glorious days of 1776 and the deeds of Steuben and De Kalb. He submitted resolutions stating the declaration of faith and outlining the method of procedure.

The declaration of faith reads in part as follows:

"Resolved, That we believe it to be the duty of every true-hearted republican, and more especially of every liberal-minded German who has expatriated himself from the beloved father-

⁴*Detroit Daily Free Press*, Nov. 25, 1851, p. 2, col. 2.

land, to use all possible and honorable means to secure to Germany the emancipation from the yoke of tyranny and the enjoyment of a free and republican government:

*"Resolved, That to ensure the downfall of tyranny, it requires more than sentiment and inactive sympathy and useless discussions, but practical energy and contribution of means to produce and prosecute the approaching contest."*⁵

Editor Caspar Butz then pointed to the days of 1849, when the downfall of all hopes of the liberal party in Germany almost crushed in the breast of the German nation the belief in a resurrection of that liberty which seemed at the time forever consigned to the dark dungeons dug by the thousand bayonets of tyranny. He then depicted the present state of things in the old Fatherland, and proved how far the moral influence of the ideas of freedom and independence had increased since that time, and how deeply rooted they were in the hearts of the people. He also showed that a moral victory was already achieved and that the coming year must bring decisive battle.

After a poem on the life and struggles of Professor Kinkel was read by W. H. Coyle, Esq., and a short talk given by Hon. J. A. Van Dyke, Professor Kinkel delivered his oration which was a masterpiece of eloquence.

In closing his oration Professor Kinkel said:

"And now, Germans in America, consider the situation. The Revolution in Europe will come, for in all political, social and industrial relations we have retrograded back to the year 1847. And conditions which broke out in the Revolution of 1848 cannot be endured much longer. The entire world sees clearer the immediate goal of this revolution to be the creation of independent republics throughout central Europe, and there is but slight danger that the movement will stop before the goal is attained.

"Everything depends on the fact that now all nations must prepare themselves for the blow. It cannot be denied that our

⁵*Detroit Daily Free Press*, Dec. 2, 1851, p. 2, col. 3.

two neighbors (Italy and Hungary) are better prepared than Germany. It is indeed certain, if these people be victorious, that they will endeavor to free Germany; but it is not fitting for the greatest nation of Europe to allow freedom to be presented to her. Every freedom, which is a gift, would later place us in a new state of dependency, for it would hinder us in establishing our national rights on our boundaries.

"One says of the German that he is a cosmopolitan; cosmopolitanism, however, is disgusting. One worships foreign nations and places his confidence in them, because he is either too cowardly to fight himself or too jealous to help his own countrymen in fighting. Germany, if supported by its revolutionary party in America in a vigorous manner full of sacrifice, can organize itself for a revolutionary beginning just as well as Hungary or Italy; at least, it can prepare itself to answer the first blow in the south and east with a similar powerful blow in the north and west, thus bringing the enemy between two fires. On this rests the security of victory, even for the other nations. If Germany does not revolutionize; if the princes succeed again in bringing against these nations the irresistible German military forces, then they also must succumb again.

"The great task is—*independent initiative of the revolution in our fatherland resting upon a firm, carefully planned organization of all movable forces*—and for the realization of this task the power of money is necessary. May history not be compelled to record in its annals that Germany was for a great act of self-emancipation too poor in revolutionary character, or that its people were too selfish and too suspicious to grant to these characters the power to act."⁶

Professor Kinkel departed from Detroit moved by the united spirit of the thriving city of the free West. The memory of this meeting lingered long in the minds and souls of the revived idealists of 1848. The Liberty loan of 1851 was not successful, but the work of Professor Kinkel inspired the

⁶Copy in the possession of the writer.

republican citizens of German descent, and the societies formed by them just before and just after the tour of Professor Kinkel came to be in the very next decade citadels of freedom and garrisons of Liberty.

EDWIN JAMES HULBERT, COPPER HUNTER

BY LEW ALLEN CHASE, M. A.

(Department of History, Northern State Teachers College)

MARQUETTE

EDWIN JAMES HULBERT, land, road and mine surveyor in the Lake Superior copper district of Northern Michigan, was born at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, April 30, 1829.

He came from a family identified with the colony and state of Connecticut almost from its founding. The first of the family in America appears to have been Thomas Hurlbut (as the name is spelled by some members of the family), who is recorded as a soldier at Saybrook in 1635. Hulberts' parents were John and Maria Eliza Elvendorf Schoolcraft Hulbert. John Hulbert, according to his son, in the year 1824 made his first voyage alone from the little Connecticut town of Guilford by way of New York State, Ohio and Indiana to Fort Dearborn, Illinois, now the site of Chicago. He proceeded thence to Fort Brady at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, situated on the strait which carries the waters of Lake Superior to Lake Huron. At Fort Brady, John Hulbert acted as subter to the garrison. Henry R. Schoolcraft, well known authority on the Indian lore of the upper lakes region, and for years United States Indian agent at "The Soo", was likewise living at Sault Ste. Marie and his sister became the wife of John Hulbert and mother of the subject of this sketch.

In 1843 the Michigan copper district on Keweenaw Peninsula, Lake Superior, was opened to settlement by a treaty with the Chippewa Indians who dwelt in this region, and very soon afterwards mining prospectors visited the district, the presence of copper having long been known from the writings and explorations of numerous persons—Jesuit missionaries, fur traders, French, English, and American explorers and travelers. Systematic mining had been retarded there until the Indian title was acquired by the government. Mining was definitely in progress at several points in 1845, and John Hulbert was superintendent of mining properties there in 1846,

according to his son. Edwin J. Hulbert spent his boyhood at Sault Ste. Marie and Detroit. He came to the Keweenaw Peninsula in 1852.

In 1854, Hulbert was employed on a road survey from Copper Harbor by way of Eagle Harbor, Cliff Mine, Houghton to Ontonagon. According to Hulbert there were few mines on Keweenaw point that did not employ him as surveyor and engineer of their underground works. He was also employed in mine profile drawing at some of the oldest mines in the region. The year following his arrival in the Copper Country, Hulbert and an associate (Simpkins) turned aside temporarily from his work of surveyor and attempted an unsuccessful business venture at Portage Lake of the Keweenaw Peninsula. Discouraged by his failure here, Hulbert decided to leave the region and made his way eastward as far as Sault Ste. Marie. Here he found employment in the United States Land Office as copyist of maps in the plat-books used in the section of government lands. In this way he acquired familiarity with the surface formations of the mineral region of Northern Michigan, and his financial resources being thus replenished, he again turned westward to the Copper Country to continue his professional labors there.

Copper mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula of Lake Superior in the score of years preceding the discovery of the Calumet and Hecla location, was carried on mainly at three points: near the outer end of the peninsula, adjacent to Portage Lake which bisects the peninsula near its middle, and adjacent to the Ontonagon River near the base of the peninsula. Each of these districts was roughly thirty miles from its neighbor, unconnected by railroad or highway then and reached most readily by the lake. It was while carrying out a project for the survey of an inter-connecting road throughout the mining region that Edwin J. Hulbert made these initial discoveries that led a dozen years later to the location of one of the richest copper veins ever found and to the establishment of one of the world's greatest mines—the Calumet and Hecla.

Hulbert tells us that in the year 1853 he held in his hand

the first specimen of breccia copper-bearing rock picked up near the forks of Eagle River. This discovery suggested to him a search for the mother lode which had yielded this fragment of breccia. During the succeeding period Hulbert had been engaged by various mining promoters in the district in lithological surveys and when the state legislature made an appropriation of land for the construction of a wagon road through the region, he was employed in running the line through the forest a distance of sixty miles or so. Additional specimens of breccia were found by him while at work on this road survey. In 1859 he was searching for minerals on the Ashbed Road and Cliff location, and then he resumed the road survey. It was while re-locating a portion of this road's route in the year 1858 that Hulbert, after noting several preliminary specimens of copper-bearing breccia happened upon an immense boulder of this material in the deep forest on the site of what is now Calumet, Michigan, which, as he inferred had been lifted from the mother lode below by the action of frost and sand-falling. Not far away he found also an artificial depression in the surface of the land, resembling those "ancient pits" frequently encountered throughout the region, being the work of prehistoric miners of copper whose identity remains undetermined. Hulbert had worked with the utmost secrecy in his search for this deposit of copper and he continued to do so until he could gain control of the land on which it was located. He re-visited the spot again in September of 1859, and studied both boulder and ancient pit with greater care. He arrived at the conclusion that beneath lay the mother lode of copper whose presence had been indicated six years before.

He satisfied himself that the pit was not sunk by miners in quest of copper but was a cache for copper obtained elsewhere by the ancients. In February, 1860, Hulbert made a purchase of lands from the United States government to the extent of 1,920 acres he tells us; and then proceeded to organize the Hulbert Mining Company in which a group of Boston, Massachusetts, men was associated with him. The Civil War

came on and mining development work in the district was retarded. Hulbert continued to work in the forest in pursuit of his profession and more copper signs were discovered. His time was daily employed, he tells us, in mining surveys, in surface subdivisions of land and in running boundaries of various Portage Lake mining locations. All the while he retained the memory of his great discovery of copper breccia made in 1858 and 1859 but it was futile to open the small area under his control.

He required more land and capital. During this war period Hulbert also visited the copper deposits at Carp Lake, Ontonagon County, which have been recently re-opened after the lapse of many years. In the autumn of 1864, Hulbert employed his brother, John and Amos Scott to re-visit the site of his discovery of 1858 and 1859 and excavate in search for the rich copper deposit which he believed lay beneath the surface. The quest was successful. Openings were made near the boulder and later (1866) beneath the ancient pit. The two diggings were about 1200 feet apart and are on the site of two shafts of the present Calumet and Hecla Mine. In order to own the "ancient pit" for further exploratory work, it was necessary to purchase the site from the St. Mary's Mineral Land Company, owners of the section on which the pit was located. This was secured by purchase and the pit was cleared out and its contents removed preparatory to its excavation. When the bottom of the pit was blasted out the Calumet conglomerate rock, as it came to be called, was again uncovered. Meanwhile, by a process of reorganization and additional purchase of lands the Calumet and the Hecla Mining Companies were formed, later to be combined into one company, still a leading copper producer of the United States.

As already stated, Hulbert, who was evidently a man of small financial means, borrowed at least \$16,800 from Quincy A. Shaw of Boston, having personally visited Boston to place the possibilities of the property at Calumet before the investors of that city. Shaw received as security for this loan an assignment of Hulbert's stock in the Calumet enterprise,

apparently, as Hulbert's Bill of Complaint subsequently set forth, with power of attorney to dispose of these stock holdings should Shaw's own financial situation in the future require it. At the same time Hulbert was employed at Calumet as superintendent of the mine being opened there. It was later charged that as mine operator Hulbert was as great a failure as he was successful mine discoverer. The Boston enterprisers determined upon a change of management and sent out Alexander Agassiz, son of the great naturalist, to develop the newly discovered copper property.

Under the capable management of Alexander Agassiz the ✓ Calumet and Hecla mines rapidly developed into an enormously rich property. The copper of all this region is found in "native" form, that is, chemically uncombined with other elements, as usually happens elsewhere. It is sometimes physically combined with pebbles for which it acts as a cement; hence the designation, "conglomerate". Hulbert had thus laid bare a form of copper deposit unfamiliar hitherto to mine operators in the Lake Superior region, particularly difficult to handle in the stamp-mills then in use. The nearest ports for handling the material were at Eagle River or at Portage Lake (Hancock) a dozen or more miles distant,—too far for economical wagon transportation. Hulbert appears not to have possessed the technical or business skill to solve these problems, and he was soon divested of control over, or of financial interests in the property. The manner in which his stock interest in the mines was secured by the Boston group of investors, and particularly Mr. Q. A. Shaw, was always regarded by Hulbert as fraudulent.

In a Bill of Complaint which Hulbert later (1874) presented to the Circuit Court of Houghton County for the recovery of his stock interest, it was declared that the stock which Hulbert had turned over to Shaw as security for various loans made by Shaw to Hulbert to assist him in purchasing land and organizing his mining companies at Calumet, were withheld on a pretense that Shaw was in financial difficulties on account of which Shaw was authorized in accordance with

his agreement with Hulbert to dispose of Hulbert's stock for his own reimbursement. Hulbert claimed that no such financial difficulty existed, and that if it did, Hulbert was ready to redeem the stock thus entrusted to Shaw. Shaw claimed that the stock had passed from his possession and could not be restored. Hulbert avered that the stock had never left Shaw's control and that it remained there at the time the Bill of Complaint was formulated. Hulbert's suit against Shaw was transferred to the United States court at Detroit but it was never brought to a settlement there. Private negotiations, it appears, were undertaken and Hulbert, in consideration of a stipulated income, withdrew his suit. He eventually left the country and lived in Rome, Italy, until his death, October 20, 1910.

The discovery of the copper deposits at Calumet was Hulbert's greatest claim to fame. The manner in which this was effected bears all the marks of the highest skill in mining engineering. There are probably no mining men of standing in the Lake Superior region who today doubt that Hulbert made this discovery substantially in the manner in which he has described it. While he resided abroad, however, there arose various alternative accounts of the discovery, which Hulbert vehemently denounced as mendacious, and one today hears nothing of them.

The Calumet and Hecla mines, combined and extended by new shafts and new acquisitions of other mines and mining properties in the district, have continuously engaged in the mining of copper in both the conglomerate and amygdaloid forms since the first operations were begun, until now, and with the development work now in progress, a long and established future is still in sight for this remarkable property. On the sites of the original openings made by Hulbert, now exist shafts running underground for a depth now approaching two miles. The metalliferous rocks are still far from exhaustion.

Hulbert was a member of the Michigan House of Representatives from Houghton County, 1875-1876. He was a member of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, 1874-1886. He was a Mason. He married October

22, 1856, Francis C. Harback, of Willoughby, O. They had a son, Thomas, and a daughter, Eliza.

The principal source for information regarding Hulbert's activities in the Michigan Copper Country is his own "Calumet Conglomerate," being originally a series of letters written for and published in the "Ontonagon Miner" in 1893 and later published in pamphlet form by the Ontonagon Miner Press. Some of the same ground was traversed in a later pamphlet as the "Reply of Edwin J. Hulbert, Mining Engineer to an Article published in the Detroit Evening News of October 16, 1899, attributing Discovery to Richard Tregaskis of Cornwall, Rome, 1899." His relations with Quincy A. Shaw are set forth in detail in his "Calumet and Hecla Mine of Michigan, Book 2. Bill in equity, Edwin J. Hulbert Complainant v. Quincy A. Shaw, Calumet and Hecla Defendants, Sworn to in Wayne County, February 7, 1874." etc. Brief sketches of Hulbert are found in *Michigan Biographies*, and *Michigan Historical Collections*, Vol. XXVII; A. C. Lane's *Keweenaw Series of Michigan*; Swineford's *History and Review of the Copper Industry of Northern Michigan*, Marquette, 1876; *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan*, Chicago, 1883; *Proceedings of the Lake Superior Mining Institute* Vol. XVIII., 1913; J. D. Hague, in *Engineering and Mining Journal*, N. Y., 1904.

The Hurlbut or Hulbert family genealogy, written by Henry Hurlbut, was published at Albany, N. Y., 1888.

MUSKEGON FIFTY YEARS AGO

Address given by Edward B. Dana to the Muskegon Rotary Club,
October 22, 1931

ONE might search the wide world over without finding two cities more unlike than the Muskegon of today and the Muskegon of fifty years ago. True we have the same skies above, the same earth beneath, the same lakes, the same river, the same sand dunes. We have streets bearing the same old names and lines. Also we have some business buildings and many residences of pioneer times, but all now so altered by efforts at modernization as scarcely to be recognized by former owners who might perchance revisit them.

Otherwise a complete change. The stage has been cleared of old scenery and settings; a new act with a new cast is on.

First and foremost, the one gigantic industry that then dominated all else has gone—scarce a trace of it remains. That industry ruled Muskegon near fifty years. At its crest it employed an army of more than five thousand men; yielded annually a product exceeding \$6,000,000 in value at the low prices then prevailing—probably exceeding four times that value if measured by recent prices.

This shift from all-lumber to no-lumber, made by Muskegon while standing, as it were, in its tracks, may well be classed as one of the marvels of the American city. True, other cities have undergone similar transformations, but Muskegon may proudly challenge any town of like size, devoted as exclusively to one industry, to show such a complete change wrought out within a like period of time.

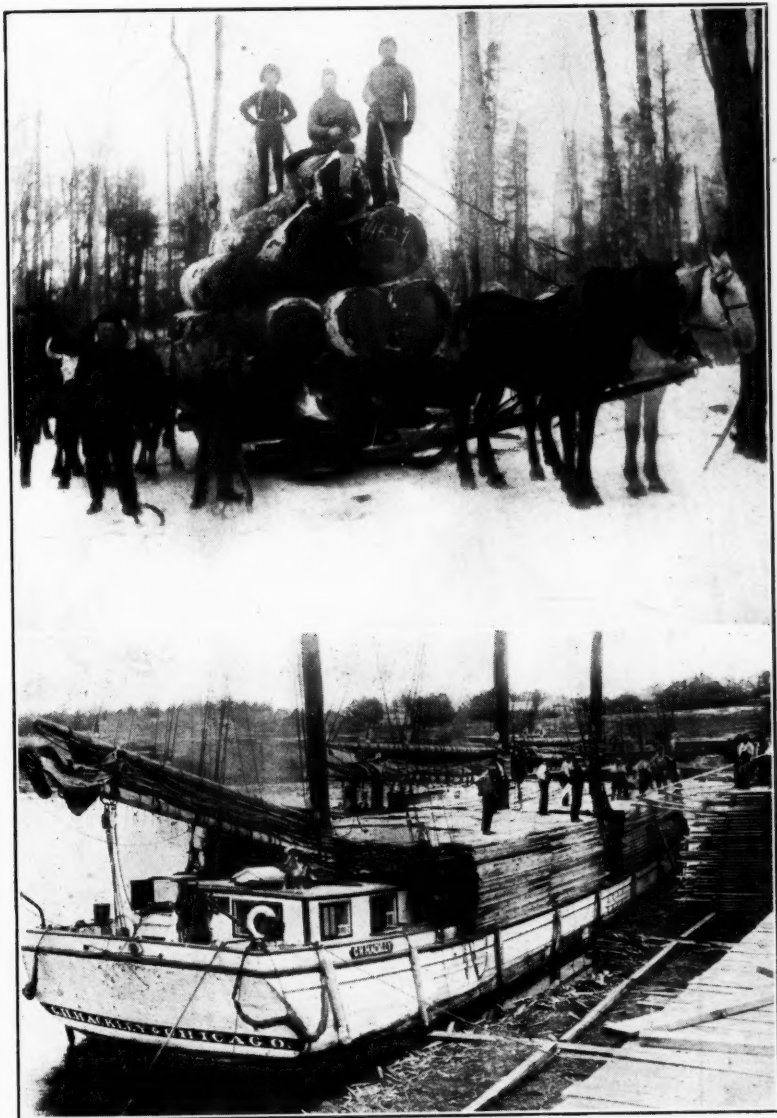
In the summer and autumn of 1881 Muskegon was enjoying the greatest prosperity it had known. The hard times of the seventies, when the finest pine lumber Michigan yielded sold on the Chicago market in quantity as low as \$6.00 per thousand feet, had passed! Now the market was booming, prices were up, King Pine was pouring a stream of gold Muskegonward. Every lumberman on Muskegon Lake was striving for production, production—greater production.

A glance at the map will reveal how nature had favored Muskegon for the part she was playing. First, was the growth through the centuries—how many centuries no one knows—of that magnificent body of virgin pine—as fine as ever grew—extending from Muskegon Lake northeasterly two hundred miles or more up the meanderings of Muskegon River—and on either side for miles back across the wide valleys. Next, the river itself, a great free highway for transporting almost direct from stump to mill the high floating pine logs, down to Muskegon Lake, this beautiful body of water that in the lumberman's mind seemed created, set apart and preserved by Mother Nature especially for his benefit as the ideal site for the forty saw mills that now belted the lake and daily for long hours, year after year, chanted the song of the saw as they converted logs by the million into gleaming, fragrant white pine planks. And next majestic Lake Michigan offering a boundless free waterway for the scores and scores of white winged schooners—the aquatic Model Ts of that day—racing to transport at lowest cost the vast mill production to Chicago, then as now the great central market.

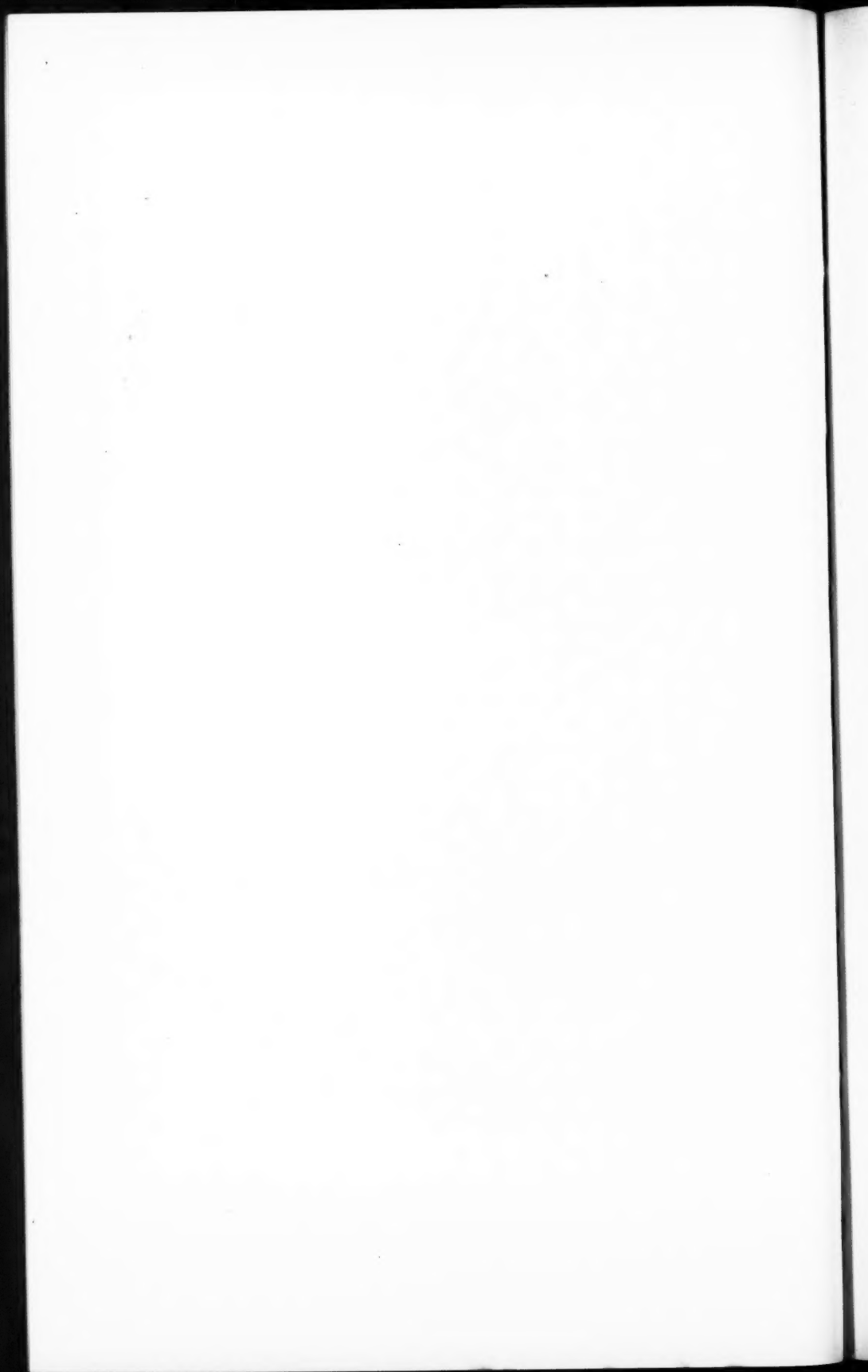
Here was a combination of natural resources unsurpassed anywhere on these inland lakes, and Muskegon made the most of it, after the fashion of the time.

In the grand rush for production the output of the forty mills reached its peak in the years 1883-4-5-6, with an average annual cut of 650,000,000 feet of lumber, 170,000,000 lath, while six single mills added yearly in excess of 300,000,000 shingles. No wonder Muskegon became famous as "Lumber Queen of the World."

These production figures mean little to the average layman. However, it may help to visualize 650,000,000 feet of lumber to see it in one pile of pine boards twenty feet long piled solid twenty feet high. That pile, with one end at the Muskegon Court House, would reach in an air line to Grand Rapids and ten miles beyond. Or if cut into planks twenty feet long, two inches thick, and used to floor a Lincoln high-



FAMILIAR SCENES IN THE DAYS WHEN PINE WAS KING



way, that highway would reach in an air line from Portland, Maine, to San Francisco.

But the mill output was not all finished lumber ready for market. What of such by-products as slabs, edgings, sawdust, bark, rejected shingle blocks, et cetera? The bulk of such output, carried by endless chain conveyors from gang saws straight into those all-devouring refuse burners, went up in smoke—a product much more pleasing, aromatically, than some smokes and vapors of more recent genesis.

From the seemingly endless piles of slabs and shingle blocks the city drew the greater part of its fuel—price \$1.50 a solid cord, delivered. Some sawdust that escaped the refuse burners served to pave streets, though reports of the extent of such paving were grossly exaggerated. Strange as it may seem, the one big industry Muskegon has today as a direct survivor of saw mill days owes its origin and the world-wide distribution of its products to the utilization of waste materials—rescued from the refuse burner—a tribute to the genius of conservationists Ansel F. Temple and Stewart Hartshorn.

Naturally from the start Muskegon patronized home industry, by building the town almost entirely of lumber all home-made, also by fencing in pretty nearly all residence lots, and laying all sidewalks. Literally, but by no means figuratively, it was a wooden town. Then as now Western Avenue Saturday afternoons and evenings was thronged by pedestrians, but the sight and the sound of the marchers over the wooden sidewalks, and at night beneath the open flame flickering gas lights would contrast strangely with the present regime.

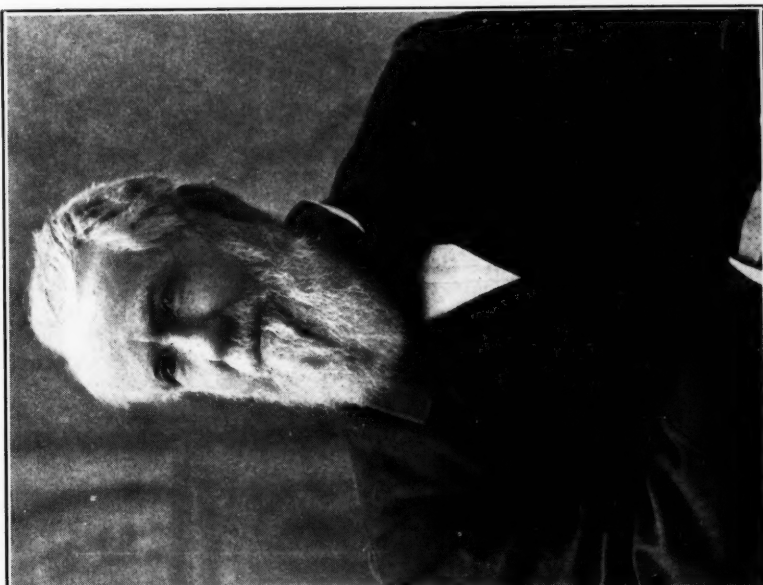
An unexpected by-product of the lumber era came in the fall of 1881 in the form of a stubborn argument between mill workmen and mill owners over the proper number of hours for a day's work. The custom had been to operate the mills eleven hours a day—in some cases eleven and one-half or even twelve hours. The men proposed a uniform day of ten hours, and adopted as their slogan "Ten hours or no sawdust." The owners said: "no change, keep right on as we have been for

years. The mills can't operate in winter. Eleven hours a day is none too long for the six or seven months of our working year." So the issue was joined, and by mid-October many mills were shut down. A little later winter took command, and the question of hours went over until spring. With the return of the robins the argument was resumed with at times much excitement, until a settlement was reached by early June and the ten-hour day generally adopted.

It seems strange, judged by recent standards, that during this strike no issue arose over wages or the frequency of pay days. The bulk of work in and about the mills required little training. It was rough hard toil, demanding muscle, bone, sinew. Wages for common labor ranged from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day. Skilled workmen, as sawyers, filers, engineers, received more—some filers as high as \$4.50 per day. Pay days came monthly, on the tenth for the previous month's earnings. With forty mills, the booming company and every other branch of the industry observing this monthly pay day, no wonder money flowed freely about town right after distribution of the pay envelopes. Then the long wait for the next pay day sometimes proved to be just too bad.

A rather interesting development of the "Ten-hours-or-no-Sawdust" chapter was political—the organization in the spring of 1882 of a Workingman's Party which put up a full ticket at the April election and elected every candidate. One result was a City Council made up of four hold-over and four new aldermen, the two groups stubbornly antagonistic, a dead-lock following, appointments of city officials by the mayor unconfirmed for weeks because of this deadlock, the city government in suspense, with uncertainty and excitement more or less of a vaudeville sort. The good offices of the State Supreme Court had to be invoked to straighten out the tangles.

The new political party, put up also a full ticket at the county election that fall, and this also was victorious. It was several years before the former political equilibrium was restored by the gradual disappearance of the Workingman's party. And, by the way, a feature of elections in those days



MAJOR CHAUNCEY DAVIS



CHARLES H. HACKLEY

was the ease and certainty with which a zealous political worker could accompany his friend or companion right up to the ballot box and see that he voted right—meaning thereby, as previously arranged, possibly bought and paid for. That was before the secret ballot of today.

Four civic centers of special interest deserve mention: the Goodrich dock at Central Wharf on North Third Street, the Third Street Depot, the Occidental Hotel, the Post Office. The arrival and departure of the Chicago boat was to the town more of an event then than now. And next, was the coming and going of passenger trains over the one railway, the Chicago and West Michigan, to or from the dingy old depot on Third Street. For the stranger, just arrived by boat or train, there was that short walk up street to the hotel, that homely and homey three-story wooden structure that for many years extended the glad hand to guests from many lands. The Occidental of that day was not only a hotel, but also an exchange where buyers from Chicago and other marts consummated with local pine barons timber and lumber deals running into figures of dazzling volume.

Of the dining room service it may well be said that the meals served were sumptuous and complete; American style, no a-la-carte system, no cafeteria bread-line with cash register attachment, no noisy after-dinner clubs disturbing the regular guests, in the good old days of Landlord Nathaniel and Mrs. Hannah Barney.

And then the post office on Second street, cramped into two small rooms, but showing an imposing array of lock boxes to be visited daily, morning and evening—by box-holders eager to take advantage of this means of contact with the outside world. Vital as is the later postal service in business and social life, the old post office had a more direct and personal meaning to its patrons in the days when they visited it in person and often.

Fifty years ago Muskegon was proud of its water works, located in the City south of Houston avenue between Eighth

and Tenth streets, built in 1874 and financed by an issue of \$160,000 of eight per cent bonds. This was a long step ahead of the old system of driven wells put down at small cost, a well for every house.

However, modern plumbing was conspicuous by its absence. Bath tubs were distressingly scarce, years passed before anything in the way of a public sewer system was attempted. The word sanitary was used but little. With the city's growth and the gradual increase in the use of public water Muskegon soon was threatened with a water famine; the supply at the water works was proving insufficient.

Then began agitation for an unfailing water supply. After several years of argument over various sites and plans—including plans of finance—the city voted to get its water from Lake Michigan. This for the time was a momentous decision but one amply justified in after years.

Then as now the schools held a large place in the public mind and heart. The Board of Education was composed of Frederick A. Nims, Robert E. Bunker, David McLaughlin, Louis Kanitz, Charles D. Nelson, Henry H. Getty—a group of men notable for that time, or for any time and for any place. The practice was to re-elect directors as their terms expired. Thus all served long enough to become thoroughly interested. Mr. Nims was on the school board thirty-six years. He devoted a great deal of time to the schools—in cooperation with Mr. Bunker, a former superintendent, and Charles L. Houseman, the then superintendent. The Muskegon schools became widely known for their progressive methods. The kindergarten system was introduced in the fall of 1882—one of the very first cities in Michigan to take this step. Even prior to that time a special teacher of music and another of penmanship were employed. Other advanced methods were introduced from year to year, until, most important of all, came manual training, and the part taken by Mr. Charles H. Hackley in giving this such a remarkable place in Muskegon's educational system.

421

Just how far the friendship existing between Mr. Nims and Mr. Hackley, and the great interest the former took in promoting and improving the schools of Muskegon,—just how far this went in influencing Mr. Hackley to give the Library and the Manual Training School with their endowments, and to follow these with other equally valuable gifts may never be known, but citizens of Muskegon who were close in friendship to both these men have been prompt and emphatic in attributing to Mr. Nims the skillful suggestion and the quiet, winning influence that inspired Mr. Hackley to devote so large a share of his wealth to public interests in this city. Under this interpretation of well known transactions in Muskegon history it would seem that to Frederick A. Nims Muskegon owes a large debt of gratitude never fittingly acknowledged.

The Central School was in use as well as name the center of the system. The school square was amply protected by a strong picket fence on its four sides, with a revolving gate at each corner and wooden sidewalks leading from gates to school. The front entrance was at the center of the building. On the first floor, at the right hand, was the office of the superintendent and Board of Education, next back of this was the City Library, crammed into one small room, but destined in good time under the magic touch of the Hackley wand to be transformed into the beautiful public library of today.

On the left hand side of the entrance hall was the complete High School condensed into three rooms. The second story was devoted to the grades, while the third floor was one large hall used at times for public meetings, particularly for the annual school meeting when directors were elected, budgets voted, and questions settled in old-fashioned town-meeting style.

The nearest approach to a Chamber of Commerce was the celebrated law firm of Smith, Nims, Hoyt & Erwin. This firm not only conducted for many years a large business in the practice of law, but also the counsel and cooperation of members of the firm were in almost constant demand in con-

nection with public questions and business enterprises of vital interest to the community. In their offices were formed plans for city improvements, important private enterprises, transfers of vast holdings of timber lands, also the organization and launching of the Muskegon Improvement Company, to which organization may be credited the birth and early development of the City of Muskegon Heights.

One other building deserves mention—the Opera House that for thirty-five years served as center of theatrical and similar amusements, also as a community house for public gatherings. Opened in 1878, the building for that time was a very creditable structure. Four memorable occasions were observed within its walls that may well be recalled as revealing the qualities of the Muskegon of the times under review.

First, was the Memorial service for President James A. Garfield, which took place September 24, 1881, at the same time the funeral services were being held in Cleveland. All business, including that of the saw mills, was suspended; the entire town bowed in sorrow. The Opera House was taxed far beyond capacity. Memorial addresses were given by a number of citizens, among them Henry H. Holt, Loftus N. Keating, Chauncey J. Chaddock, Ansel F. Temple.

Second to be remembered was the occasion, February 13, 1888, of the funeral service of Major Chauncey Davis, Muskegon's first mayor, well known and loved for his many years of helpful activity as merchant, lumberman, banker, but more as public spirited citizen, always interested in everything that concerned the welfare of Muskegon; kind, generous, a friend of every one in need of a friend. Again the Opera House was overcrowded while Muskegon, with business places closed, paid the last tribute of respect and honor for its most beloved citizen.

And third, the dedication of Hackley Public Library, October 15, 1890—an occasion of state-wide interest—another great outpouring of the people expressing their gratitude to Mr. Hackley in person, for the gift of the Library, "the pos-

session of the living, the heritage of posterity." The dedicatory address by United States Senator Thomas W. Palmer, of Detroit, was most appropriate, scholarly, eloquent. How fitting his closing words:

"The merchant who sends his ships with gold and silver to the Orient does not receive gold and silver in return, but an exchange of far more value. The ships bring back the silks, the cashmeres, the spices of Cathay. So will it be with him who sends out such an argosy as this. It will not return in material wealth, but it will in 'jewels richer than all his tribe'—regard, affection, and the consciousness of not having lived in vain."

And fourth, the Dedication of Hackley Hospital, November 7, 1904. Again the people throng the Opera House, again they rejoice for the opportunity of expressing personally to Mr. Hackley their profound thanks for all his benefactions, and especially for this, the crowning gift of the Hospital. The address was by the Honorable James B. Angell, nationally known for his long and conspicuous record as President of the University of Michigan, at that time the State's best known and most beloved citizen. His tribute to the giver and the gift may well be cherished as a beautiful expression of Muskegon's mind and heart toward her great benefactor who within a few short weeks was to pass over the great divide.

It is well to recall now and often President Angell's closing words: "Our prayer for this Hospital is that it may be so wisely administered and so justly appreciated through all the coming generations that it shall fulfill the most sanguine hope of the generous Founder and us his fellow citizens who with gratitude rejoice with him today."

PERSONAL REMINISCENCE OF THE BIG FIRE OF 1871

BY MRS. JOSEPHINE SAWYER

MENOMINEE, MICHIGAN

THE summer of 1871 was hot and dry. There were frequent forest fires in various parts of the northern states and for weeks before the big fire of October 7 and 8, the smoke hung so heavy that the sun looked like a ball of fire most of the time.

Just when and where the fires started, no one can say, but the woods and swamps between Oconto and Peshtigo had burned at intervals, controlled only by occasional rains. These fires were supposed to have caught from the camp fires of the laborers who were building the Chicago and Northwestern railroad track through to Escanaba that year. The culmination began the evening of October 7.

I think every one had a feeling of uneasiness and premonition for weeks. To my people, our first alarm came in this way. At that time my father (E. S. Ingalls) had a water mill on Little River, about five miles from Menominee. He owned much timber there. The place is occupied by farms now, the Sawyer-Goodman having most of it. October 7 being Sunday, most of the crew had come down town, leaving the boarding-house keeper, his wife and two children and about ten men there. The bookkeeper, Mr. Merrill, had spent the day at our home. About 6:30 P. M. my brother Fred put the team on a light wagon and accompanied by my younger brother, sister and myself, started to take him back. After passing Frenchtown, we noticed an occasional log burning beside the road. Mr. Merrill told us to go back; he would walk the remaining mile and a half. There was already a roaring in the air and the sky was lighted up over towards Peshtigo. The smell of smoke was strong before we were half way back. The roaring became loud and the wind came in fierce hot gusts which fanned the smouldering logs into flames. Often a standing tree took fire. Our horses needed no

urging on their way home. Afterward, Mr. Merrill told us his experience.

It took him some time to make his way over the logging road to the mill, for the whirling wind had carried the fire to one side and over Marinette, and struck the mill and surrounding forest. All the buildings were on fire when he got there. He hastily got the books from the office, and taking the cook's baby, ran with the rest of the people to the river. He buried the books in the earth on the river bank. The cattle and horses had been turned loose though one ox fell and was burned on the river bank. Each person had grabbed a pail or something to hold water, and carried it with him. Mr. Merrill said the heat was so intense that the instant they rose out of the water, their clothes caught fire and when they inverted wooden buckets of water over their heads, the bottoms of the buckets would catch fire.

As an example of the fierce heat, he told how a bottle on the edge of the bank melted and ran with a hiss into the water near him. One freak of the fire that occurred there we kept at my home as a souvenir. A large iron bean pot stood beside the cook house door. As the hot blast struck, one half of this melted like lead; the other half remained intact. Late the next day, my brother-in-law got a team as far as Frenchtown. From there he had to walk the rest of the way to the mill over fallen timber and hot ashes. He found the people all alive but blind from smoke and heat and badly blistered, especially the eighteen months old baby, which could only be held under water a few minutes at a time. He roped them together, so he could guide them, and so carrying the children, and sometimes the woman, they all stumbled along, helping each other as best they could, often falling over burnt logs, or burning their feet in hot ashes till they reached Frenchtown. We kept them at our house for two weeks, feeding them like children, until their eyes recovered. The woman and baby died two or three months later.

As I have said, the whirling wind carried the fire, now high, now low. Marinette, directly in its path, escaped. Only the brush and low growth around the town caught fire, though it kept men busy to control it. Menekaunee was caught in one of the whirls of fire. My remembrance is that everything burned, even fences, walks and the sawdust covered streets. The fierce hot wind carried burning shingles a mile and more out into the bay and set fire to sails of ships. Where the fire struck, it was so sudden and fierce that everything caught at once. In one house a woman was in confinement, with the upper part of the house burning, the doctor and neighbor woman attending her. As soon as the child was born, she was lifted mattress and all and put into a sawdust cart, not a minute too soon, and carried to safety. Menominee, like Marinette was rimmed with fire, and Birch Creek, a settlement of about forty families was entirely burned. The loss of life in this farming village was in proportion to numbers as appalling as at Peshtigo. Several families were entirely wiped out. Most of them lost one or two members. The survivors found safety in root cellars, holes in the ground or in Birch Creek.

Two girl survivors came to Menominee in 1878. I took my horse and buckboard and we went to visit near their old home farm and spent the day wandering through the growth of poplar and firewood that always follow a woods fire. The tree trunks were still lying all in one direction like mown hay. These girls told me there were nine in their family. When the fire struck, the father and mother each took a small child and all ran to reach the creek if possible. These little girls, ten and eleven years old, soon began to stumble and fall. The father suddenly threw them both into the water and mud under roots of an overturned tree, telling them to crouch down and stay there until he came for them. They alone survived in that family.

Our first excitement at home came just after we had returned from Little River mill, about 9:30 probably. There was a fierce gust of wind and a crash, and Belle Stephenson,

(Mrs. Joseph Fleshiem) who had been spending the day in Marinette, came running in and told us that their buggy had been blown over into a brush heap, just across the road. (My home was where the Spies Public Library now stands, and the brush heap was on a vacant lot occupied in late years by the Walter Hicks home.) Belle also told us that it was reported in Marinette that Peshtigo was burning and that Marinette would likely burn also, as trees were already burning on the edge of town. Everything seemed to happen all at once after that. The sky south and west was a blaze of light. The fierce hot whirling wind rose and fell, bringing flame to new spots, sometimes rising and leaving a spot of green timber untouched.

Soon people began to drift down from Frenchtown. They said "the jack pines back of the village are burning". We had lived there when we first came to Menominee (1862) and knew many of these people. They camped in our back yard near the bay. I do not know how many there were. I heard my mother say she counted eight little babies in her bed at one time, and children were asleep all over the house. I knew we gave bread and coffee to forty or more the next morning. Their homes did not burn and they went back. There were constant alarms. Gilmore's mill down on the point where the Hoskins-Morainville plant is now, had caught from the Menekaunee blaze and was burning. Houses kept catching fire. The women and girls pumped water and the men carried wet blankets and covered roofs. This was a common method. Main street, sawdust covered, of course, kept blazing up in spots and we ran with buckets or pitchers, or anything to stop the spread. I met the late Joseph Fleshhiem in one of these sorties, though I did not know it till long after. He had just came off a steamer and was walking up the street, wondering just what he had got into, when a girl came running towards him with a bedroom water pitcher and watering can and said: "The shavings under that porch are on fire. Crawl under and put them out." He crawled while I ran to the bay

for more water. The house was that of George Horvath, on one of the Victory Park lots.

Suddenly the swamp which stretched from Ogden Avenue to the river, and was covered with willows and dry grass, (Kirby street was swamp then) was on fire. The only good road, crossing the swamp was Pengilly street, leading to the mills. The older men and women worked along the edge, the women carrying water, the men throwing up fresh earth. The younger folks pumped and carried water also. There was but one good well on the side of the street where the Lloyd store is now, at the Saxon place, later known as the H. P. Bird place. We pumped it dry twice before morning. It was hot exhausting work. The young boys would lie down a few minutes at a time to rest, then go on—our dresses and shoes were scorched and burned.

There were many amusing incidents, amusing afterwards, that is. I saw George Horvath, who owned the biggest dry goods store in town, and was building the new house before mentioned, walking up and down Main street carrying a small gilt mirror in one hand a blanket over one shoulder. The blanket was folded at first, but later trailed behind him in the dust. A clerk told me afterward that he found the store standing open with all lamps burning.

Mr. Phillip Lowenstein had just brought his bride to Menominee. He had a liquor store on Main street. His clerk found him about half way between his house and store, carefully burying a hammer and a lighted lantern in the ground. Theriault, the beloved old fiddler of our dancing days had a store also. He buried several cases of cigars and oysters in the sand on the beach, then took his "little fid" and walked up and down the street the rest of the night. I regret to record that some of the boys found the buried cases. Theriault never did.

My father's law partner, just recently from down east, had his room over Parmenter's store, just south of the Richard House on Main street. He hastily packed his valuables in his bag, ran swiftly down stairs and threw it into a passing farm

wagon. He then came up to my father's house with nothing on his mind apparently. Our neighbors across the street had a valued clock. They hastily dug a hole in the yard and put it in. All holes look alike when covered with sand. They could never afford another clock and came to our house "for the time" for years after. The clock is under the Lloyd store somewhere. Most people buried their valuables on the 8th.

One of the big lake steamers had come in about midnight and tied up at Jones dock. Among other things it brought the furniture for Mr. E. L. Parmenter's beautiful new home on what is now called State street, (The home of F. J. Trudell). About two A. M. I was standing on guard at our gate the others having gone where they were needed more. It was so light from the glare in the sky that I could read a newspaper easily. I saw Charlie Fairchild coming up the street with a load of furniture and called out, "Why take it to the house? The hills are all on fire back of Kirby Creek." He answered, "Well, they'll get the insurance if it's in the house but not if it's in the boat." He told me the boat was being held at the dock for women and children if needed. Some of them fled to it early in the night. It was said that some men wrapped themselves in women's clothes and hid in the boat, but were discovered by Oscar Saxon, the town's official teamster and a strict conformist to methodist ideals. It is said that he used strong language as well as the toe of his boot on such cowards. I am sure his lapse of language was forgiven, for his provocation was great. Had worse come to worst, the boat would have burned at her moorings, for the water in the bay lowered two feet or more under the fierce wind and heat and the boat was fast aground when they tried to move next day.

My brother Charles Ingalls had personal proof of the lowering of the water in the bay. He was getting out cedar posts on my father's Haycreek farm, which ran from the Magnus Relson farm clear through to the bay, joining John Quimby's land at Poplar Point. It included the marsh and site of the Daley mill. The house was on what was known afterward as

the Crawford farm and still stands, I think. Charlie had a lumber ship anchored off the point and a crew of twelve or fifteen men. Sunday morning (October 7) most of them had come up town. Seven people were left at the farm, including the farm keepers daughter, who had remained to get meals for the men. When the fire struck the forest and out-buildings, the cattle and horses were turned loose, except one team which Charlie had kept hoping to get to town or to shore. Charlie begged the men to get into the wagon, but four of them hastily threw some planks over a hole in the ground and crawled in. Someone spoke of the girl. Charlie looked for her and found her in her bed, with the clothes drawn over her head. He grabbed her, quilt and all and chucked her into the hole as he started for the shore, for the road was already cut off by flame. One of the men in the hole begged him to write their names on a piece of paper and fasten it on a stump near the hole. Charlie headed for water with one man with him. The team needed no urging. When a hot gust would come, the cattle and horses running ahead would throw themselves down and bury their noses in the sand for a minute or two. The loss of animal life was terrible that night. Several deer, wolves and bear were on the edge of the farm yard in the morning. Live rabbits ran into the hole with the men and the girl. By some freak of wind, the house did not burn, though barns, fences and surrounding woods, all did. Charlie said the horses ran into the water until it reached the wagon box. He and the men lay down and went to sleep in the wagon and were awakened when the returning water covered them in the morning.

Many of the incidents relating to the burning of Peshtigo were told me by the late Mrs. Isaac Stephenson of Marinette. She was a young girl living with her parents and brother at that time. She said: "The whole town seemed to be on fire all at once." People ran madly to the river. Some sought refuge in cisterns or wells and were smothered there. Nine members of one family were found in their well. Some lingered to save treasured belongings and died in homes. Like most of the

people, Mrs. Stephenson with her brother started for the river. She told him (Tom Burns) to go back and help his father and mother. She could go alone. She had not run more than two blocks before she fell exhausted, and would have burned there had not R. M. Hunt, engineer in charge of construction for the C. & N. W. railroad company come along and picked her up and carried her to the river. The scene was terrible. Men were fighting off the crazed horses and cattle to keep them from trampling women and children under water. Their clothes caught fire as they worked.

Mrs. Stephenson told me that she personally knew of seven confinements which took place during the night. Men laid their coats in the mud and ooze at the foot of the bank for the unfortunate women to lie on, and while women were doing what they could for the sufferers, the men carried water and poured over them. Several of the women died, and only three of the babies lived, so far as she knew. So the night passed in terror, pain and grief. In the morning there was nothing but desolation, no food or shelter for hours. They ate potatoes which were baked in the ground.

Among the incidents I knew about personally was this one. A young Frenchman, Joe Martel, running to the river, saw a little baby lying in the road. He picked it up, carried it into the water and took care of it as well as he could. In the morning the women helped him, but all had their own to care for. The child belonged to a niece of Governor Fairchild of Wisconsin. The father and mother died. Governor Fairchild provided for the child, also for the young man. One incident was related to us by Judge Fred Bartels of Peshtigo. When the fire struck the town, he started for Marinette with his horse and buckboard. On the seat with him was the sister of F. J. Trudel. She had recently married and gone to Peshtigo to live. Her husband and another man sat on the back of the buckboard. There was a wall of fire on each side of them and the horse ran of its own accord. Suddenly the two men fell off. The young wife tried to jump off but Mr. Bartels held her. He couldn't stop, for that would have meant death to all.

At the beginning of the fire, a small lumber train which ran to Peshtigo harbor took as many as it could carry down to the harbor. They were safe and soon in communication with outside towns. The trainmen tried to get back for another load, but could not.

Of course, people in near-by towns were not idle. Men from Marinette and Menominee forced their way through burning logs and hot ashes and brought the sufferers to Marinette. Barracks had been hastily built to house them. Governor Fairchild had sent Dr. B. T. Phillips up to take charge. The women of the towns were volunteer nurses. We in Menominee helped. We had the Birch Creek refugees and outlying farmers to look after also. From far and near, food and clothing poured in. It continued coming for months.

I asked Mrs. Stephenson once, when I was in her room, where she got such an oddly shaped white petticoat as she was putting on. She said: "Well, when I got to Green Bay, I didn't have a gown to put on, but I was immediately given thirteen white petticoats. This is one of them."

After the fire destroyed Birch Creek, it leaped over about ten miles of green forest and burned the beautiful beech forest near what we call Greenwoods. Several days after the fire, I went with some friends to try and locate some of their relatives who lived there. I had spent some weeks with them before the fire. We could not get beyond Birch Creek. It was strange to see those great forest trees lying row after row as though cut with a scythe, their tops pointing towards the north. The trunks of some of these great trees still lie in the birch grove beyond Birch Creek.

The fire burned so deeply into the peat bogs near Cedar River that it was still burning a year later. At times, during the first winter after, smoke came up through the snow. The fire got a good start early in the evening of the 7th of October (1871), but the height of its fury and destruction came the morning of the 8th between one and five A. M. approximately.

(steamed)
well

THE PEWABIC DISASTER

BY ONE OF THE SURVIVORS, SAMUEL T. DOUGLAS

DETROIT

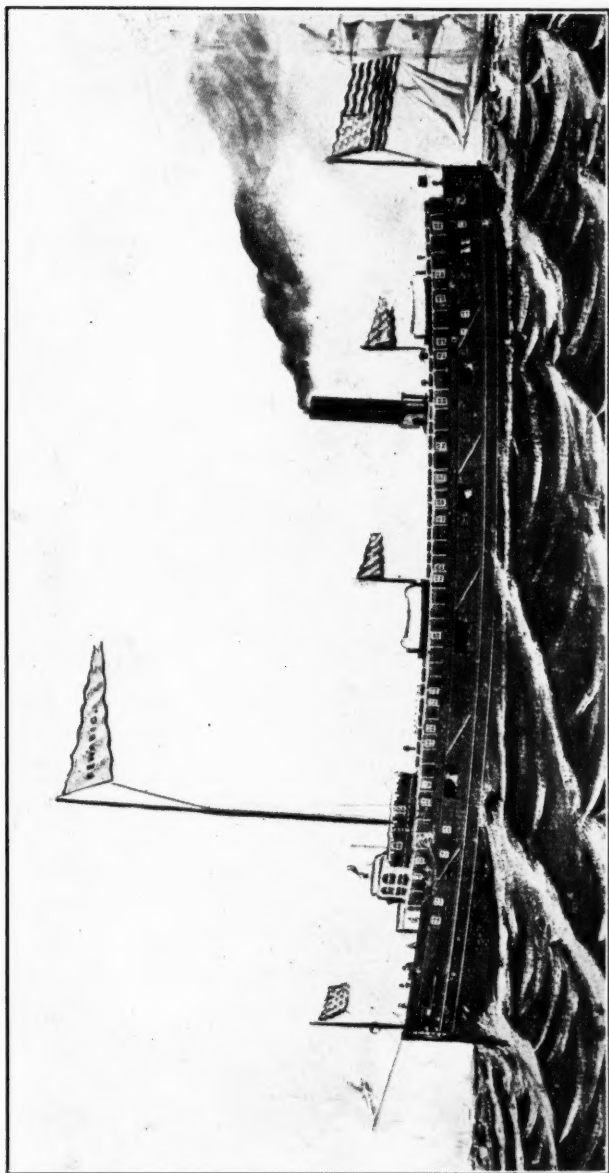
THE recent marked success of the Leavitt Diving & Armor Company, of Toledo, Ohio, in raising the ill-fated Pewabic from the grave that she has occupied so long at the bottom of Lake Huron, is a revolution in deep sea salvaging. It upsets the belief of many mariners and experts who have heretofore expressed the opinion that it would never be possible for divers to operate at such a depth, one hundred and eighty feet, on account of the pressure. This success also would seem to indicate that many another ill-fated vessel, which has gone down with its cargo of human lives and property may be raised.

The accident which occurred in August, 1865, brings to my mind the whole scene of the disaster, with all of its details and memory of it is as fresh in my mind as if it happened but a week ago. It suggests how indelibly are fixed on one's mind the facts and scenes of any great disaster through which one has passed, and how these scenes are so vividly pictured upon the tablet of memory as to be almost beyond obliteration.

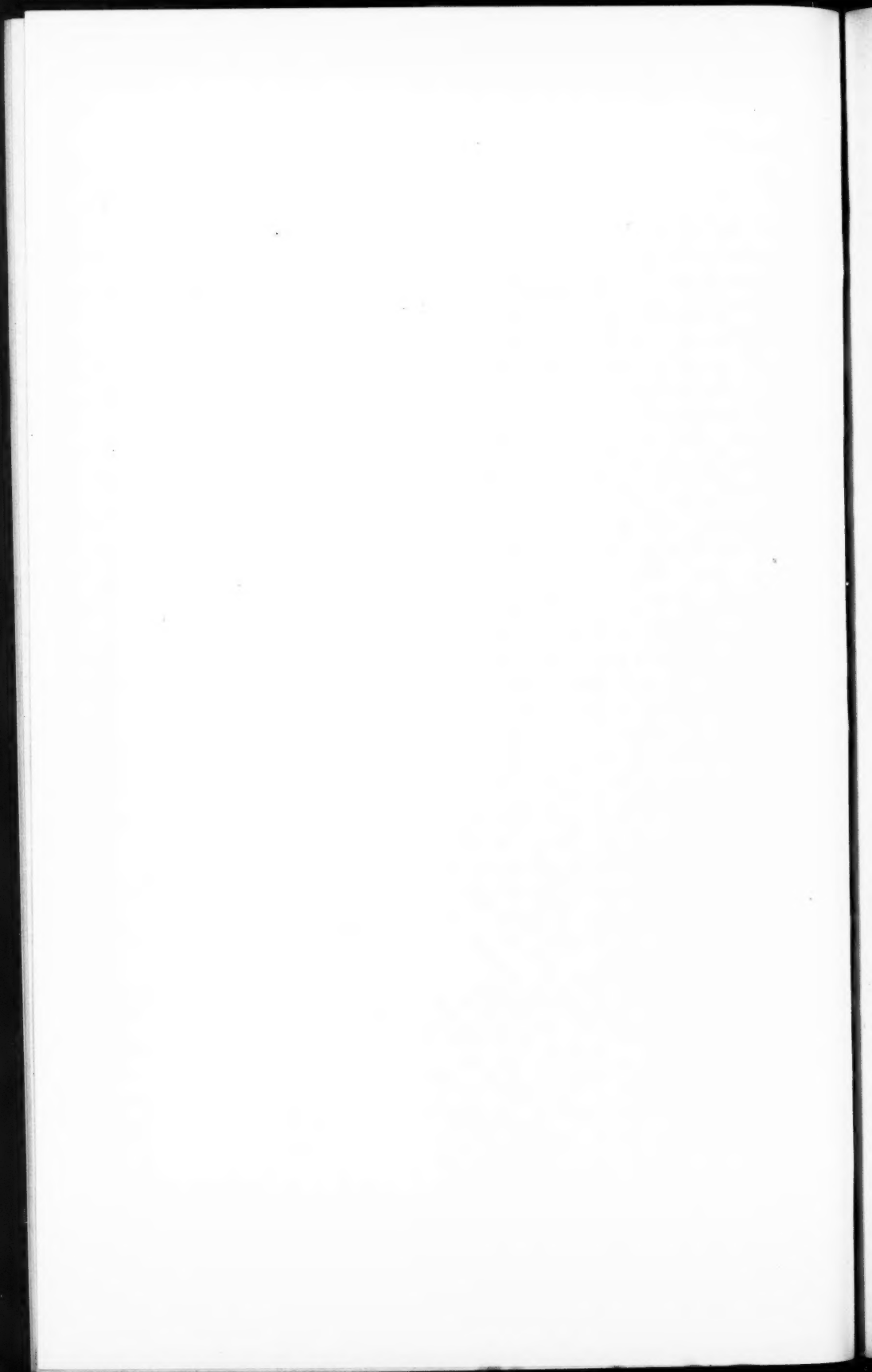
The wreck of the Pewabic was probably one of the greatest disasters, both in the loss of human life and property that has ever occurred on the Great Lakes. I do not know how many of the survivors of the catastrophe are alive, but it has occurred to me that it might not be out of place at this time to make a memorandum of the facts and to jot down a short account of what occurred. This note will have more or less of a personal coloring.

I was but a small boy at the time the Pewabic was sunk by the Meteor. The Pewabic and the vessel which brought her disaster, the Meteor, were both for their day, large substantial propellers, doing a fine passenger and freight business engaged in the Lake Superior trade. They were owned and operated by the firm known as Whiting & O'Grady. Mr. J. Tallman

Whiting, who died a few years ago, was at the head of this firm, and his son, Mr. J. Hill Whiting, now residing in Chicago, was one of the lucky passengers on board the ship who was saved. My understanding has been that the loss of this fine steamer, having been occasioned with a boat of the same line and ownership, proved a financial disaster to the owners, because of the fact that the responsibility rested upon their own agents for the loss sustained. The Pewabic was painted lead color. Captain McKay was the Master of the vessel, and his brother, I think, either Assistant Mate or Lookout. I might say that my father, Professor S. H. Douglas of the University of Michigan, had planned the trip for our little party to Lake Superior, partly to give him an opportunity to examine some mining property near Houghton, and also to afford him an opportunity to revisit some of the scenes of his early explorations of the copper country, he having accompanied his cousin, Dr. Douglass Houghton, on one of his expeditions in the study of geology of the Lake Superior region. Incidentally, I was made a member of the party with the hope that the fresh air of Lake Superior would restore me to health, as I had only recently recovered from a long attack of scarlet fever, which seriously impaired my eyesight, and had left me almost blind and my eyes in a very inflamed condition. I mention this latter fact because the immediate result of the disaster upon me personally was, through fright or otherwise, such as to restore my eyesight and to leave me as if a miracle had happened, practically cured. Our party on the Pewabic consisted of my father, my sister, Miss Kate Douglas, my brother, and an aunt, Mrs. William J. Welles, and myself. The trip up through the Lakes, and until the disaster occurred, was most delightful—the season being early August, and the Pewabic proved a most comfortable ship. I do not remember the names of many of the passengers, but I recall distinctly the names of some whom our party had met, including Miss Adelaide Brush, daughter of E. A. Brush, Esquire, who afterwards became the wife of former Mayor William G. Thompson, Mr. Charles Mack, a well



STEAMER PEWABIC



known Detroit man, who was one of the officials of the boat, and Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Wright of Detroit. The number of passengers, as I have been informed, were about 180. I well remember the Pewabic loading her cargo at Houghton,—the cargo consisting largely of pure copper, either in the form of ingots or otherwise. It was the weight of this cargo that carried the ship down within a comparatively few minutes after the collision occurred, and it is this same copper that the lucky divers have recovered to the extent, as I understand, of a value of \$40,000 or \$50,000, and brought in and placed upon a dock at Alpena.

The accident occurred about nine o'clock at night, off Thunder Bay in Lake Huron. The night was somewhat misty and rainy, and there was rather a heavy sea as it seemed to be rolling. Most of the passengers had retired for the night. There was music and dancing on the Meteor. My recollection is that the only passengers on deck, in addition to the Captain, his brother, and the Mate, a Mr. Cleveland, were our little party, consisting of my father, my sister, aunt and myself, my brother having retired. The lights of the approaching vessel were seen ahead and we were told by the Lookout who was pacing the deck where we were sitting, that the approaching vessel was probably the sister ship, the Meteor, of the same line, and that very frequently the vessels came near enough together so that the down bound vessel would get from the up-bound, the Detroit daily papers. We were sitting on the port side of the after deck, perhaps 25 feet from the bow, conversing at intervals with the Lookout, Mr. McKay, or the Mate, Mr. Cleveland, who stood close to us, and as the Meteor approached on our port side, she suddenly seemed to change her course, and as it seemed to us, to attempt to cross the bow of the Pewabic and to pass us on the starboard side. Whether this was so or whether the Pewabic actually changed her course, or whether the accident was due to some defect in the steering gear, was a problem which was subsequently investigated at a hearing before Honorable Addison Mandell, who was then clerk of the

United States Court; a proceeding, as I understand it, which grew out, to some extent, of the question of insurance, but which resulted in the finding that instead of the Meteor changing her course, the officers of the Pewabic were guilty of doing so. At any rate the crash came almost in an instant. The bow of the Meteor struck about 25 or 30 feet from the Pewabic's bow, cutting a deep gash in the side of the latter vessel, and causing her to fill with water and sink in an almost incredibly short space of time. In fact as I have always understood, there was no effort to save the ship but only to save the passengers. When it appeared that the accident was unavoidable we ran, with my father in the lead, to the starboard side of the boat, and either intuitively or because I was commanded to do so, I remember distinctly of rushing into a cabin, opening a state-room door, diving under the berth and pulling out two life preservers. My father did the same, with the result that we were all equipped with the ordinary cork life preserver, used at that time. I remember distinctly that mine was defective, in that the ties could not fasten in front on my chest, and I had to keep it on by keeping my arms near my body. We all ran to the stern of the boat on the starboard side, my father and the women in advance. When we reached the stern of the Pewabic my father, realizing that the vessel was sinking and might go down at any minute, ordered the women to jump out into the Lake, and he did likewise. As we came out of the cabin I lost sight of them. The shock of the collision was so great that it was perfectly evident that the Pewabic would sink and very quickly. Running around the stern of the boat to the port side I saw that the Meteor had swung alongside the sinking Pewabic, and as it seems to me today, the sides of the vessels were not more than 6 to 8 feet apart, the Pewabic sinking rapidly.

It is somewhat unusual to read one's own obituary, but the account in one of the Detroit newspapers at that time, referred to the fact that one young boy, seeing the hands outstretched from the Meteor to catch him, mounted the rail of the Pewabic,

jumped to seize the out-stretched hands, struck his head on the side of the boat and went down to a watery grave. This, except the watery grave part, was a true statement. As I jumped I touched one of the hands out-stretched, my body striking the side of the Meteor and I fell between the two boats. It seemed a terribly long time before I arose to the surface. So close were the vessels together that I could almost touch the sides with my hands. Gradually the vessels separated and I found myself floating amidst a mass of debris and people. My own personal recovery was due entirely to the fact that I had been taught to swim and to learn how to take care of myself in the water. I found myself sustained by the life preserver. People were calling for help on all sides. I remember well a woman trying to catch me as I fell back into the drift of a wave, but whose grasp I escaped by a great effort. A man floating near by, however, was her victim, and seizing him, they both sunk, never to rise again. The man, I was advised, was Mr. Calvin Wright whom we all knew very well. I was in the water from one-half to three-quarters of an hour, but finally the hurricane deck of the Pewabic, as she made her final plunge, was wrenched off and was floating some distance from where she went down. It was to this that my efforts were directed, and I was finally pulled on to this raft made up of the deck and other timbers, by the Steward of the Pewabic, John Lynch. Mr. Charles Mack, clerk of the Pewabic, had charge of the rescue boat. He was a splendid boat man and did remarkable work in rescuing such of the passengers as were saved. In the boat in which I was picked up was the lifeless body of a woman, whom those in charge thought might be resuscitated. It was my aunt. Life was extinct as it appeared she had been struck by a floating timber and drowned. She was very fond of jewelry and was possessed of much, and as her lifeless body was placed on the radiator of the cabin of the Meteor, her rings were taken from her fingers in the effort to resuscitate her, and they were stolen by some thief whom we afterwards succeeded in locating at Houghton. We had him

arrested, tried and convicted and sent to prison, with part of the jewelry recovered. My father, sister, brother and myself were all rescued at different times. My father and sister owed their being saved to the fact they had on life preservers. The Pewabic must have gone down inside of ten minutes. The Meteor was badly damaged, but could temporarily accommodate all saved passengers. Being placed on a sofa of the cabin of the Meteor and being asked by a kindly voice my name, I was taken into a stateroom, undressed and rubbed into life by the kind hands of Mr. Harvey C. Parke, one of the founders of Parke, Davis & Company. As I lay in the berth of Mr. Parke's room I heard the voice of my father come through the cabin asking if anyone had seen any of the members of his family. It was an awful night. I have no means of knowing the exact loss of life. I do not know that it was ever published, but I always understood that about 125 lives were lost.

I am wondering about the divers who so successfully overcame the obstacles which heretofore had seemed unsurmountable in deep sea diving, as they wandered through the cabin of the vessel—what sights met their eyes. There were passengers left in their staterooms. Not more than two bodies were ever found in the wreck—that of my aunt and one across the lake on the Canadian shore. Are the rest occupying their staterooms at the bottom of Lake Huron? I would like to have the diver give me back some of the beautiful specimens of silver and copper that I had collected at the mines. Only now as I am writing this memorandum has a friend of mine from Alpena, handed me a piece of copper brought up from the Pewabic, which was handed to him by the diver. It was reported at the time that the Pewabic's safe held a large quantity of valuables, including money. What truth there is in respect to this statement, I have no means of knowing.

After passing through the horrible night of rescue, the saved passengers were taken on board a passing propeller called the Mohawk, bound for Detroit. It was understood that no reference would be sent to Port Huron, or to the press, but in some

way this was disobeyed, for a message came over the wire and was published in the press that the Pewabic had sunk in a collision with the Meteor, with all on board, and this was the only message our dear mother received at home before she knew that her family was saved. It is a rather remarkable fact that the only package picked up at the time of the accident was a small hand satchel belonging to a member of my family, and later a heavy case of assaying instruments which belonged to my father was found floating on some debris, and returned to him. Aside from these small articles, as I remember it, nothing was saved in the way of baggage or valuables.

A number of passengers, including J. Hill Whiting, and Mr. Lew McKnight, who was well known in Detroit at the time, saved themselves by jumping from the deck of the Pewabic to the deck of the Meteor. Others were not so fortunate. The Engineer of the Pewabic was saved, minus an ear, which had been bitten off by a small pet dog which belonged to him, and it was floating in the water.

The preservation of my brother's life, who was asleep in the stateroom, sounds like a miracle, as he told the story at the time. When the crash came he put his hat on, he was still dressed, ran out of the cabin and was told to look out for the hot water of the boiler as the boiler had burst. He remembers only an attempt to lift himself up by pressing himself against the table and side board, when everything became dark, and he knew nothing more until he found himself standing upright upon a sort of a raft made by the debris, his hat on and he was wet only up to his ankles. It was unbelievable, but the truth was evidenced by his condition.

The result of the collision was a practical ruin of the firm of Whiting & O'Grady. Carelessness which caused the collision was attributed to their own agents, therefore, no insurance could be collected. Let us hope for the good work that may result in the future in bringing back from the depths of the blue water, the bodies of those who have gone down in the sea,

that complete success may meet the efforts of the divers who have, contrary to the opinion of some of the best engineers, been able to demonstrate the possibility of rescuing at such a depth.

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Some sidelights from the Correspondence of Silas H. Douglass,¹ first
Professor of Chemistry at the University.

BY WILFRED B. SHAW, DIRECTOR OF ALUMNI RELATIONS

ANN ARBOR

THERE has recently come to light a series of letters and documents which deal with the early career of Silas H. Douglass, the first Professor of Chemistry in the University of Michigan. Most of this material deals with the first decade of the University's history, a period from which comparatively little has survived in the way of personal records. Therefore the sidelights these letters furnish of the every day life of Ann Arbor and the University, the glimpses of faculty rivalries they give, as well as of the problems Dr. Douglass faced as the first university Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, form a valuable supplement to the University's official reports from that period. For many years this correspondence has been in the possession of Dr. Douglass' family, and, through the kindness of his son, the late Samuel T. Douglas, of Detroit, who was graduated from the University in 1873, they have been left in the custody of the University.

In all there are some sixty-four items, which include, in addition to a few family letters, a series of letters regarding Professor Douglass' appointment to the Faculty in 1846; memoranda regarding administrative matters; correspondence with Major Jonathan Kearsley, Chairman of the Regents' committee on buildings and grounds; as well as with other members of the Board. In addition some correspondence with Dr. Zina Pitcher deals with the organization of the curriculum and the establishment of a Medical Department. An interesting letter from President Tappan is also included. The dates of these letters and documents, with the exception of one or two per-

¹Throughout this correspondence, as well as in the early records of the University, the name is given in this form. The family now spell it with one 's'. Dr. Douglas made this change about the year 1875 in order to bring the spelling into conformity with the usage in Scotland.

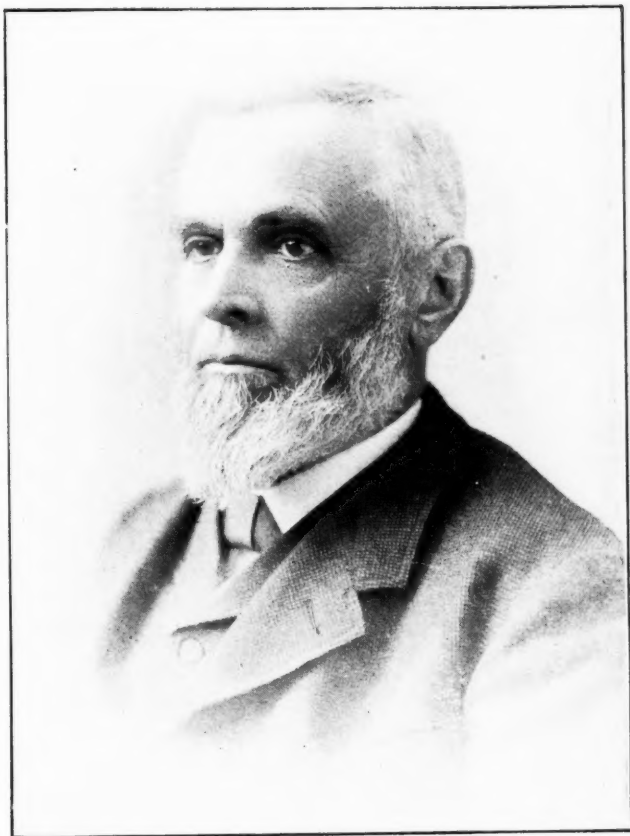
sonal letters, cover the period from 1844 to 1864, though most of them range from 1846 to 1850.

Dr. Silas Hamilton Douglass first came to Ann Arbor in 1843 to begin the practice of medicine, and the earliest document in the collection is the partnership agreement he drew up on April 8, 1844, with Dr. Philip Brigham, in which it was provided that all differences between them should be submitted to the determination of Dr. Samuel Denton and two other physicians. Dr. Denton was a member of the first Board of Regents and later one of the founders of the Medical School, serving as the first Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

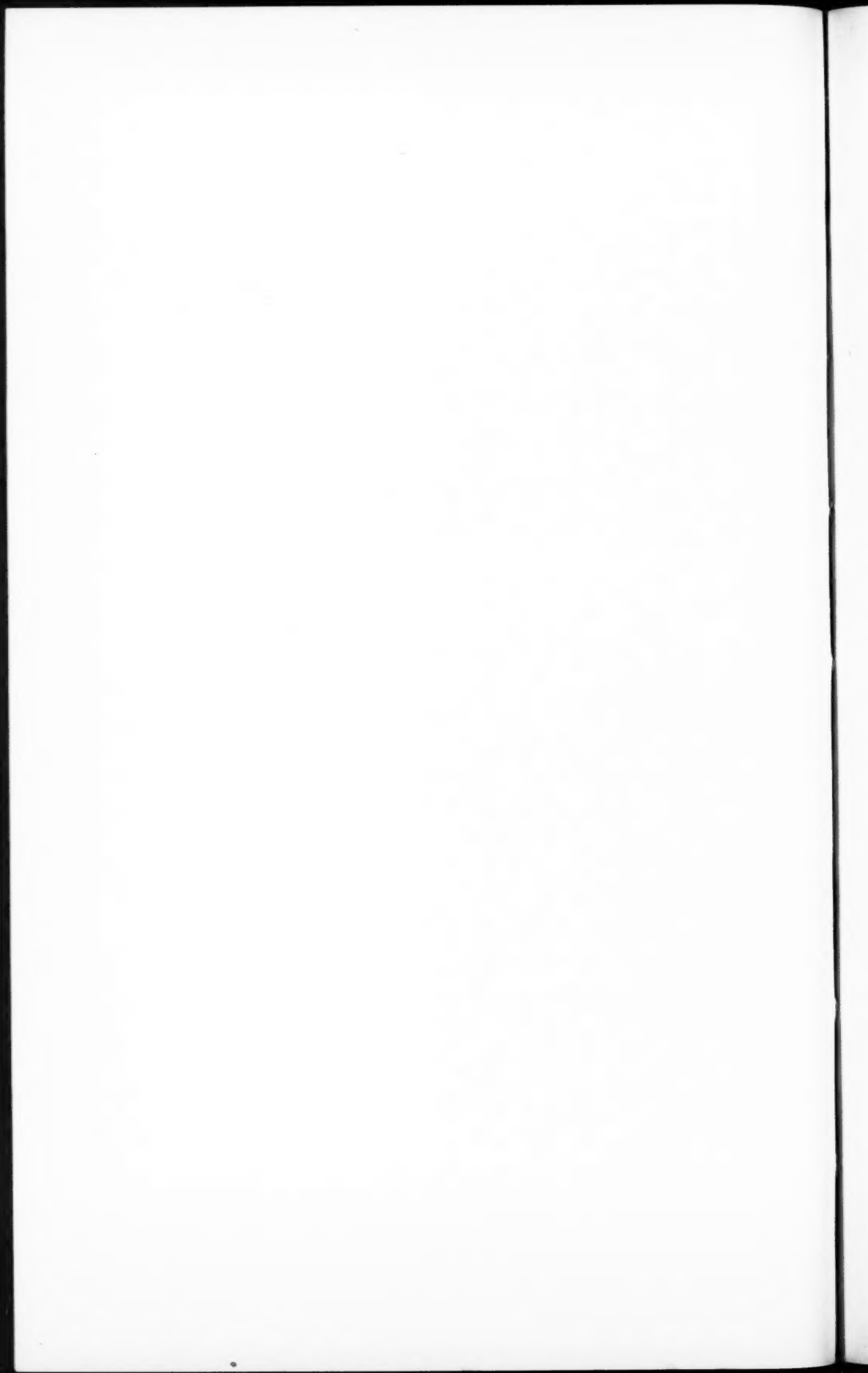
may Dr. Douglass was born in Fredonia, Chautauqua County, in New York in 1816, and came to Michigan in 1838 where he began the study of medicine in Detroit in the office of Dr. Zina Pitcher, another prominent figure in the early history of the State, who was mayor of Detroit in 1840, '41 and '43. As Regent from 1837 to 1852 Dr. Pitcher had much to do with the establishment of the Medical School.

In those days medical studies were normally pursued in the office of a practicing physician, and the requirements were ordinarily far from arduous. Young Douglass evidently found time to develop his interests in mineralogy and geology, and in fact was able to accompany his cousin Dr. Douglass Houghton on his geological surveys of Michigan. Dr. Houghton, who was a distinguished scientist, was appointed in 1839, when he was thirty years of age, as a member of the first faculty of the University but he never met any classes regularly, since most of his energies were devoted to his field trips.

In 1844 Dr. Douglass was appointed assistant in charge of the courses in chemistry during Houghton's survey of the Northern Peninsula. A year later Dr. Houghton was drowned off Keweenaw Point in Lake Superior. One of the most interesting items in the collection is a letter from Judge James V. Campbell, who was later to become a member of the first



SILAS HAMILTON DOUGLAS



faculty of the Law School, notifying Dr. Douglass of Houghton's death. The letter is as follows:

Detroit, Oct. 26, 1845, 8 P. M.

Dear Sir

The news has just arrived from above placing beyond a doubt the death of Dr. Houghton on the night of the 13th instant. He was drowned not far from the mouth of Eagle River with all but two of his boat's company. The statement of the survivors was taken down and Mr. Hubbard and Jacob were present when this was done. Mr. Hubbard brought down an authenticated copy. You will hear in due time the particulars. I write in great haste having just come up to the dr's house from the Empire which brought the news.

Truly yours

Dr. Douglass

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

Following Dr. Houghton's death Dr. Douglass continued in charge of the chemistry department and under his direction the first building to be used exclusively as a chemistry laboratory in any American university was eventually built on Michigan's campus. During his early years on the Faculty he also served as the first Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds and was responsible for the erection of several of the early buildings. At the time of his retirement in 1877 he was Professor of Chemistry, Metallurgy and Technology and Director of the Chemical Laboratory. Dr. Douglass was also largely responsible for the establishment of a Medical School in the University, and at one time served as the first Professor of Pharmacy, Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology, as well as holding the Professorship of Geology and Mineralogy.

The first series of letters in the collection deals with his appointment to the faculty as the successor of Douglass Houghton. For some time he had been teaching chemistry and mineralogy in the absence of Houghton, as well as attending to his medical practice. It is evident, however, that the Regents in those days were rather hesitant as regards a too rapid development of courses in the sciences as the

following letters will show. The first is from his brother, Samuel J. Douglass, dated October 7, 1845, a week before Houghton's death. The letter however is endorsed in Douglass' hand November 7; this is apparently the correct date in view of the reference to Houghton's library.

I feel very anxious that you should make every effort to prepare yourself for the professorship in the university. It is a place above all others which is a worthy object of ambition to attain—I know what the pecuniary difficulties are—I know you have much studying to do to be fully prepared—

Dr. Houghton's library will without doubt be at your service in due time but at present it will not answer to say anything about it. I will write you at length before long.

Four months later, February 24, 1846, Douglass wrote to his friend Henry N. Walker, who had also come from Fredonia, New York, regarding an appointment as Houghton's successor. Walker was always deeply interested in the affairs of the University though he never served as Regent. It was largely through his generosity and energy that several years later funds were raised in Detroit for the Observatory, during President Tappan's first year in the University. The letter to Walker is as follows:

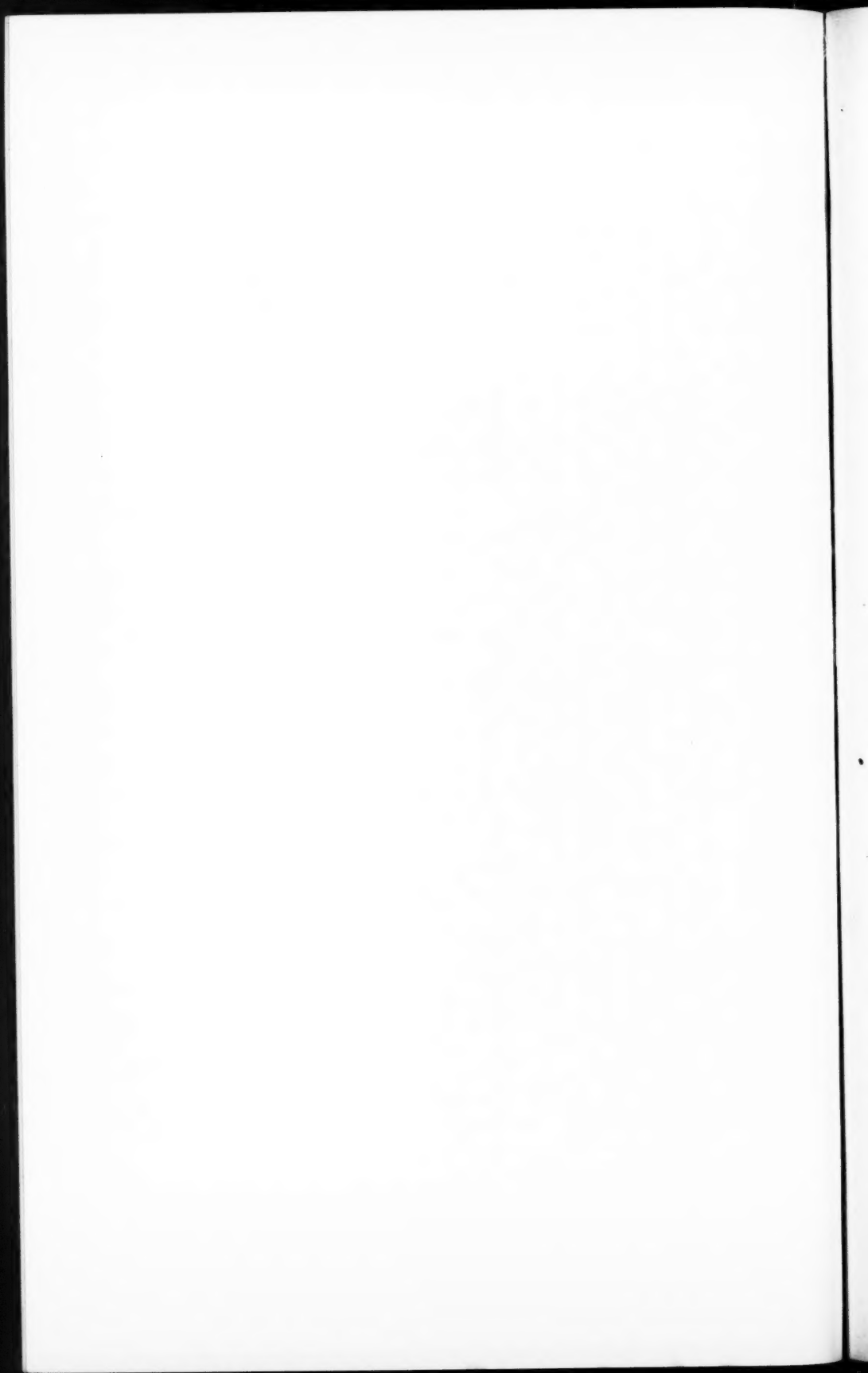
Ann Arbor Feby 24th.46

My Dear Nelson.

I have been waiting for some time past, in hope that I might hear something more definite in relation to my connection with the University, & the probable course the Regents would take. During the fall and winter I have been lecturing three times a week, upon the subjects of Chemistry & Mineralogy, & also have nearly completed the labelling of the Cabinet. Now all this is drawing heavily upon my time, & I do it at great sacrifices in my other professional duties. In fact I feel that unless there is a strong probability of my deriving future benefit from it, I am doing great injustice to myself. And again in the department which I have charge of, there is a vast deal of work to be done, such as making a catalogue of minerals,



DOUGLASS HOUGHTON



arranging & securing from the destruction of insects the extensive specimens in Ornithology, Botany, etc. All this should be attended to by some one, but under the circumstances I do not feel at liberty, nor have I the time to attend to it myself. If in the spring I am to have a successor, I think the true policy for me would be to complete my proposed course with as little labor as can be done, & not suffer it to interfere with my practice. If however the Regents are disposed to make an arrangement with me for the future, I have thought of this plan. The University is poor, & I suppose unable to pay any one a full salary for services in this department. Now if they will appoint me the successor to Dr. Houghton, in view of the future advantage it may be to me, I will go on & do the duties faithfully upon a less salary than the others receive, with this privilege, that I may continue my village practice. By thus uniting the two, I shall be able to live, & can give a full course of instruction upon all the branches of Natural Science, my services continuing through the year. It is only with the view of the future that I would make the arrangement. In the short time that I have been connected with the institution, I have become greatly interested in it & can scarcely keep away from the laboratory and cabinet. My greatest ambition now is to be so situated that I can pursue unmolested the cause of Natural Science. I am anxious to have your advice in the matter & should be glad if you would write me in full as soon as your time will allow. The course which I propose, I think would be approved by Prof. Williams, Ten Brook etc.

Yours Truly,

SILAS H. DOUGLASS

This letter from the young physician, who was just thirty years old at the time, with its canny proposal for a division of income, foreshadows many other similar arrangements in later years. As a matter of fact, Dr. Douglass subsequently dropped his medical practice gradually and was able to develop his interest in natural science. The members of the faculty mentioned were the Reverend George Palmer Williams, at that time Professor of Natural Philosophy, the first member of the faculty appointed who actually served as a teacher in the University, and the Reverend Andrew Ten Brook, Pro-

fessor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, who later served as Librarian, and became the University's first historian.

Even more interesting for its sidelights upon the administration of the University was the reply from Walker to Douglass, which for some reason was delayed until May 3.

Detroit May 3. 1846

My dear friend.

Your letter was received, since which I have seen Dr. Pitcher and talked with him about the appointment of a Professor—He said the Executive Committee had directed the Chairman to write you (Kearsley) requesting you to go on and finish the course of lectures, and if urged by them in anything like the terms I suppose it will be I hardly know how you can avoid complying. I feel indignant at somebody and do not really know who to blame—There is something so inefficient about Pitcher in this and he talks so much about time, that I could almost believe he was really lukewarm did I not (know) his general character so well—He had all the cards in his own hand and only required a moderate degree of confidence to have played them successfully—but he is inefficient and timid and that in certain cases is unfortunate—I think as you do about the Professorships—that it is more than anyone can do to perform all the duties in Chemistry, Nat. Phil. Geology & Mineralogy—Still I am inclined to defer for the present any decided action in regard to suggesting a division. There are several reasons for this, but one is sufficient now, it is this, it might be said that it was for the purpose of obviating the objections of Prof. Williams, and bringing him into your support—I know there would be no truth in it, and for the present I would do nothing that would give any one an opportunity to say anything of the kind. I am satisfied Prof. Williams will do anything and favor any project that will relieve him of some of his duties. Now to volunteer to do such a thing or to shape your application so as to meet his wishes in this matter I would not do it—Still I think the duties are too much for any one to perform—and should be assigned to two persons. Dr. Pitcher said the executive committee either had or would address letters to the faculty upon this subject of the wants of the University and request their views in full upon it. But he is so timid, I have lost half of my confidence. When these answers

come if they do come I will endeavor to ascertain what they amount to, and whether they favor any particular appointment. The Profs. if the questions are asked as broadly as I suppose they will be might produce some effect if they would all separately urge and recommend your appointment.

Dr. Pitcher told me Dr. Sager had tendered his resignation, but the Executive Com. had no power to accept of it, and that he had written him he had better withdraw it, and then explained at length his plan which he mentioned when you saw him, that of establishing a medical school. This seems to run in Dr. P's head a good deal more, much more than, the other business of the University. My advice to you at the present time is to go on if possible until the close of the year with your lectures, but say to Dr. Pitcher that you cannot go further than that—You can perhaps in reply to the letter of the executive committee asking you to go on say to them that you have already given much of your time for nearly two years, without remuneration and that your duties to yourself require some change, that you will perform the duties until the close of the year,—that you would like the appointment of professor, and if appointed you would devote such time to the performance of the duties as the Regents required, but that after the close of this year unless something of this kind could take place, your duty to yourself would require you to abandon all such projects and desires and devote yourself exclusively to your profession. I throw out these matters by way of suggestion.

In the mean time I will do all that I can do to bring the matter about as you wish and desire—

Yours truly

HENRY N. WALKER

See
Dr. Pitcher's early interest in the establishment of a Medical Department is clearly indicated in this letter. His service was later recognized by his appointment as Emeritus Professor of Medicine and Obstetrics in 1851, the first emeritus professorship.

Dr. Abram Sager became Professor of Zoology and Botany in 1842, after Asa Gray resigned to accept a similar position at Harvard. Gray's only active service for the University was the purchase in Europe of books for the Library. Dr. Sager became the third member of the faculty who actually

taught classes, if a short course of lectures by Douglass Houghton be overlooked. Dr. Sager was appointed Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the projected Medical Department in January 1848; while Dr. Douglass became Professor of Materia Medica at the same time. Two years later, when the Department was actually established, Dr. Sager assumed the Professorship of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children. Later he became the first Dean of the Department.

In the meantime, a few days before the above letter was received, the Executive Committee of the Board of Regents, on April 28, had taken the following action, though Dr. Douglass was not officially notified of it until May 4:

Resolved. That the Executive Committee authorize and request Dr. Douglass to complete the course of lectures and instruction heretofore commenced by him in the University of Michigan.

In a communication to E. M. Wilcox, Secretary of the Board of Regents, Dr. Douglass acknowledged this appointment and indicated his willingness to continue to the end of the year, but also proffered his request for a professorship in almost the words suggested by Walker. This letter was followed up by a letter five days later to one of the Regents, Reverend Marvin Allen of Adrian, enclosing a copy of his reply to the Regents and saying that at the urgent solicitation of Professors Ten Brook and Williams, and with their approval, he had consented to go on.

I do so however, at very great sacrifice, as it interferes materially with my practice of medicine Were it not that my whole ambition is centered in the University and the pursuit of science, nothing could induce me to make these sacrifices.

Matters came to a head at the meeting of the Regents of August 4, 1846, when the Board declared Dr. Douglass "duly appointed Professor of Chemistry" with a salary fixed at the rate of \$800 for the "time actually engaged in the pursuance

of his duties." This appointment was not entirely unanimous however; while Dr. Douglass received eight votes, two votes were cast for a Professor Shepard and one for Burritt A. Smith, at that time instructor in Greek and Latin. The Executive Committee also provided that the duties of Professor of Mineralogy and Geology should "devolve" upon the Professor of Chemistry or that the services of Professor Shepard be secured to deliver a course of lectures on these subjects. Apparently Professor Shepard's services were never required, as he does not appear on the faculty list.

A further letter, the copy of which is in Mrs. Douglass' hand writing, was addressed over a year later to Major Jonathan Kearsley, of Detroit, at that time Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Regents. It gives valuable information upon the method of teaching, as well as the content, of the courses in science in the University's early years. In the original, this letter (as is the case with some of the others given) is characterized by an absence of paragraphs. For convenience in reading they have been inserted.

Ann Arbor, Jan. 15th, 48

Dear Sir

As the Executive Com. have called upon the Faculty for a statement of the services performed by each Proff, I deem it my duty to make a special report, so far as relates to myself, of the duty imposed upon me. In the first place, I am directed to take charge of the departments of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology. Geology is placed in the first term of the college year. During the last term I either lectured or heard recitations daily at 11 o'clock A. M. I should have lectured daily, had I not been under the necessity of making all the drawings for illustration myself, which with my duties as Supt. engrossed so much time that I was under the necessity of substituting a recitation for a lecture a portion of the term.

The subject of Geology cannot be completed in less than one term, Chemistry and Mineralogy are placed in the second term. I have lectured daily at 11 o'clock A. M. & shall continue to do so through the term. When you take into consideration the necessary labor in the Laboratory, preparing illustration & experiments, you will not I am con-

fidently think of imposing a greater duty upon me. It is all that I can do, and I fear that in many cases, in consequence of my lecture coming at so early an hour, I shall be under the necessity of adjourning until evening. My custom is to examine the class for ten or fifteen minutes on the subject of the lecture of the day previous, & to spend the remainder of the hour in lecturing. It will be difficult if not impossible to do justice to the two subjects in a single term.

I do not conceive that it is the design of the Board to institute a mere popular course of lectures, illustrated by a few brilliant & startling experiments, & hence my effort has been to impress the general principles of the science upon the minds of the students & at the same time make it as practical as possible. Last year I failed to complete the course in the term, and endeavored to make it up in the first term of this year. By examining the course of instruction in other institutions I think it will be found that more time is generally devoted to these branches.

The subject of Organic Chemistry in consequence of its practical bearing upon Agriculture & Physiology is assuming an importance deserving of a more extended consideration. In my last course I ranged over this whole field in two lectures, one upon Animal & one upon Agricultural Chemistry. If but one term be allowed even could we complete the course, there certainly will be no time for review. Had I the time I should make the review a practical one, by requiring the students to come into the Laboratory & prepare experiments and lecture themselves. In this manner they would not only have an exercise in practical Chemistry, but also one in lecturing. The graduating class of 1846 had the benefit of such a course of instruction, & their knowledge of Chemistry will speak well for the plan. It will be seen that extending Chemistry & Mineralogy into the third term will cause little or no infringement upon other studies, as information would be communicated in the main by lectures & experiments.

You have also required of me certain duties as Supt. You are well aware of the many perplexities connected with this duty. It is enough for me to say that I have known no vacations or Saturdays or Sundays. My time has all been occupied in connection with the institution. As Supt, I have in the past year disbursed about \$8,000, have recd. about 350 vouchers, have collected from students about \$900,

for which I have given about 300 receipts. From this you can judge something concerning my duties as Supt.

I submit the above to your consideration, and should you think proper to the consideration of the Ex. Com.

Very respectfully

SILAS H. DOUGLASS

Two interesting letters regarding the Presidency are to be found in this collection. The first is a draft of a letter regarding the appointment of a president of the University, addressed to C. H. Palmer, who at that time was a Regent Elect to serve on the first Board to be elected instead of appointed, which came into office in January 1852. Up to this time the members of the Faculty had each served in turn as president for one year, following the German rectorial system, but the feeling was becoming very strong that the University should have a regularly appointed president or chancellor. The letter indicates that the qualifications were in many respects the same eighty years ago as they are today:

University of Michigan
Dec. 21, '51

Dear Sir—

Sometime since I wrote you in reply to a letter recd. while I was in Albany, in which you requested my opinion upon certain points touching the University. You will remember that I partially declined expressing a very decided opinion. I did so for the reason that I did not feel prepared to do so. Since that time I have had the subject under consideration often and my ideas as to the true policy to be pursued have assumed a more definite form. I propose to give them to you, trusting however that you will not give them too much weight.

Among the very first acts of the new Board of Regents should be the election of President. The selection of the right man to fill this place is exceedingly important. While east last summer I had it constantly in view, and saw and became acquainted with many of the first men in the country, but I must confess that I did not see an individual that fully came up to my wishes. Prof. Bache of Washington and Agassez (sic.) (of Harvard) came nearest to it. Yet I suppose neither of these men could be induced to come here.

I take it that our situation is a peculiar one, and unlike

that of any other institution in the land, it is a state institution governed and controlled by the people, and unless the people can be made to feel that they have a direct interest in it it must necessarily prove a failure. To be successful it must make its influence felt in every part of the state, it must be the centre of all matters of education, and if the proper influence by this center upon the other schools of the state, they may all be made valuable tributaries to it, and instead of empty halls we should have an institution overflowing with students. To accomplish this work must be done. The state must be traversed over and over again, the advantages of a liberal education must be set forth, young men must be sought out and encouraged to engage in it, the primary and preparatory schools must be encouraged to send students.

Who is to lead off in this work? I answer the President of the University. What then must be *his* qualifications? Shall he be a man of years, a man of established reputation, distinguished for his superior natural abilities as well as his extensive attainments, one who has spent his best days in the service of another institution, one who has little knowledge of human nature and of the motives that govern and influence the mass of community—or shall it be a man in the prime of life—active, energetic, fair reputation as a scholar—ambitious of distinction—having good knowledge of human nature and one who will labor for the University and who will feel that his whole reputation hinges upon its success. I answer the latter. Then who is the man? You will recollect that we had some conversation last summer concerning a Mr. Barnard. Since that time I have had an opportunity of learning more of him and of his peculiar qualifications from those we are qualified to judge and who know him well in N. E. and I am inclined to think that he comes nearer the point than any man whose name I have heard mentioned. Have you heard anything more of him? Mr. Farnsworth I think is personally acquainted with Mr. B. and as he is a prudent and cautious man his opinion would have great influence with me. I have no particular predilections in favor of Mr. Barnard. I only desire that the Board should avoid the appointment of any old, worn-out hack merely because he has an “established reputation.” We must have some one who will infuse life and energy not only into the institution itself but likewise into every part of the state.

Next to the appointment of a President you perhaps ask what changes should be made in the present Faculty, if any—This is a difficult question to answer and it is even more difficult to point out the precise manner in which these changes should be made. My own plan would be commence the work with great caution and prudence. (If the Board feel that they must make changes, let them select some one who)² has rendered himself obnoxious to a large portion of the community and fill his place by a new appointment or if you appoint a President the duties could be assigned to that officer. In the mean time your President could enter upon his duties, and would soon be able to advise concerning other changes. I have been looking forward to the time when you might be induced to take a chair yourself. Should you desire it you can be making influence to bring it about. I think the course I suggest would be the most speedy method of bringing it about. Mr. Bradish has been with me for the last two weeks and we have frequently talked about it and I believe he concurs with me.

Another point with reference to economy. The present Board are paying their Secy. \$150 and their Treasurer \$100 per annum. I can see no reason why these duties may not be performed by the same officer. I have had considerable to do with the financial matters of the Board for the last five years, and I believe have performed those duties with satisfaction. If it should be desired I will do the duties of Secy. and Treas. both for the salary of the former. I would also suggest that the Secy. be required to keep a Meteorological table upon the plan of the Smithsonian Institute.

I can think of many other points upon which I should be glad to write you, but will not do so now. I hope to see you before long in Ann Arbor and when you come shall expect you to make it home with us. We should also be very glad to see Mrs. Palmer or your daughter with you. You will, of course, consider this letter as confidential.

Yours truly,

SILAS H. DOUGLASS

There is a very common impression that the office of Supt. of B. & G. is one of very little account. To all this I demur.

²In this passage the words "Prof. Whedon has" are erased and the words in parenthesis inserted. Other changes seem to indicate that Professor Whedon was something of a storm center.

The names suggested as candidates in this letter are interesting. The Professor Bache mentioned was Alexander Dallas Bache, 1806-1867, who was a great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin. He had a high reputation as a physicist, was the first president of Girard College, and later was superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey and also first president of the National Academy of Science. The name of Alexander Agassiz was even better known. He came to America in 1846 after a distinguished career as a naturalist in Europe and became a member of the faculty at Harvard.

The qualifications of Henry Barnard are further set forth in a letter dated Jan. 1852, addressed to R. C. Paine, Esq., Niles, who it happens was much interested in what was happening at the University, though he never served on the Board of Regents.

Ann Arbor, Jany 1852

Dear Sir—

John has just shown me a letter from you in which you desire further information with reference to Mr. Barnard. This I will very cheerfully furnish, more especially as I perceive that there is prospect of your rendering material aid.

Mr. Barnard I believe was educated at Yale College and soon after studied Law. While engaged in the study of Law his feelings became enlisted in the cause of general education. With the view of informing himself upon the subject of the different systems of the education he now visited Europe and remained in Germany and Prussia some considerable length of time carefully studying their system, which is said to be the best extant. On his return he published an exceedingly valuable work on the subject of continental education. Soon after his return he engaged in the project of reforming the school system of Rhode Island, then the most defective of any state in the Union. In a very short time he made it the most perfect of any state. Having completed his work here he transferred his influence to Con. and in the latter state he has effected a similar change. During this time he has written and published several valuable works. In his course thus far he has shown himself to be possessed of the following traits of character that admirably fit him for the Presidency of the University of Mich—

- 1st He is a thorough and accomplished scholar
- 2nd He is a gentleman in the highest sense of the word, with that complete knowledge of human nature that enables him to adapt himself to the feelings, wants and capabilities of all classes and make his influence felt wherever he moves
- 3rd He is a man "well to do in the world" who in coming to Michigan will feel that he has no other desire of *gain*, except the gain of reputation, and that this will depend upon the success of the University and education generally in the state
- 4th He is a man in the prime of life (some would say young) with just enough of a reputation to make him greedy for more and not enough to induce him to fall back upon his oars and lead a useless life
- 5th He is a man that knows how to take care of his own pecuniary affairs and therefore it is presumed that he could advise concerning those of the University
- 6th He is a man wedded to no particular religious sect or denomination, yet a man of pure and unexceptionable character, respecting all denominations.

There are the principle points with reference to Mr. B. and if you can do anything to influence Mr. Moore in this matter you will be doing me a great favor and I hope the University a *greater* one. The election I suppose will take place in April next without much doubt. You see that we have had something of an upturning of matters already. I hope that it is for the best and that we have got rid of some troublesome mess. Our whole success now depends upon securing a good man for Pres.—one who will make the institution popular. The Med. Dept. is going on finely and merely because we have been willing to work.

R. C. Paine, Esquire
Niles

Yours truly,
S. H. DOUGLASS

From these letters it appears that careful consideration was being given to the various possibilities for the presidency. We learn from Miss Farrand's history of the University³ that Mr. Palmer's first choice was Bishop Alonzo Potter of Pennsylvania, with the famous Dr. Eliphalet Nott of Union College, George Bancroft, the historian, and Dr. Henry Philip Tappan as other possibilities. Apparently he was not so interested

in Douglass' candidate, Barnard, who was also popular in other quarters. Bishop Potter gave sufficient assurance that he would not accept and Dr. Nott was also unwilling to brave the uncertainties of the West. Bancroft's reply was the same, but he recommended Dr. Tappan.

Palmer became very much impressed with Dr. Tappan, but strong opposition to his candidacy developed immediately (partly, at least, because he had once employed a homeopathic physician) and at the third meeting of the new Board in June, 1852, Barnard was elected, and, as they thought they were assured of his acceptance, a committee was appointed to arrange for his inauguration. The offer, however, was declined, and, after an equally unsuccessful election of the Reverend William Adams, an eminent Presbyterian divine of New York City, Dr. Tappan was finally elected on August 12, after strenuous efforts on the part of Palmer with the members of the Board of Regents.

There is little reference to Dr. Tappan's administration in the Douglass letters. However a very interesting and pathetic message from President Tappan, written from Berlin after his resignation, is found in the collection—

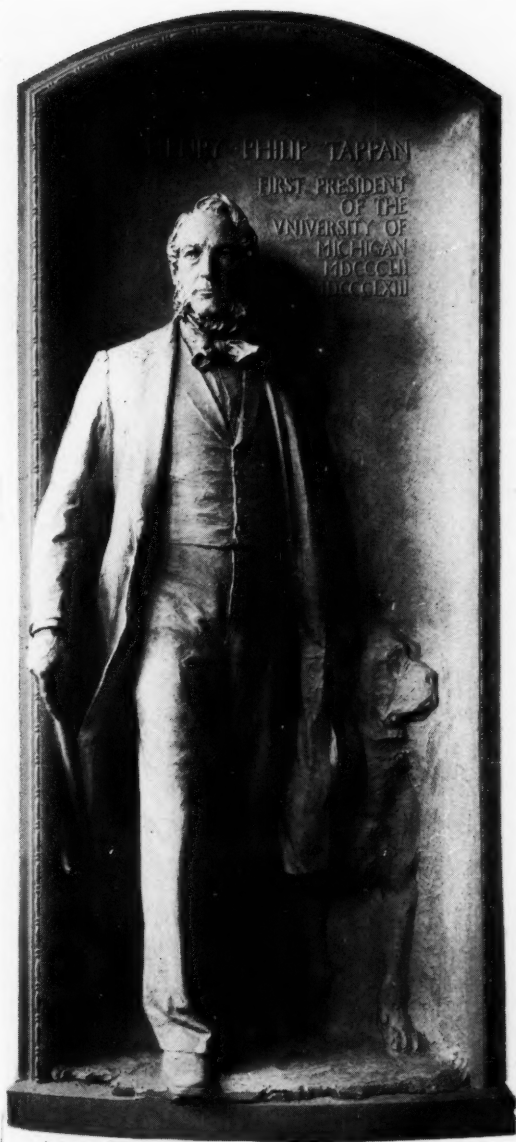
Berlin March 25, 1864

My dear Douglass

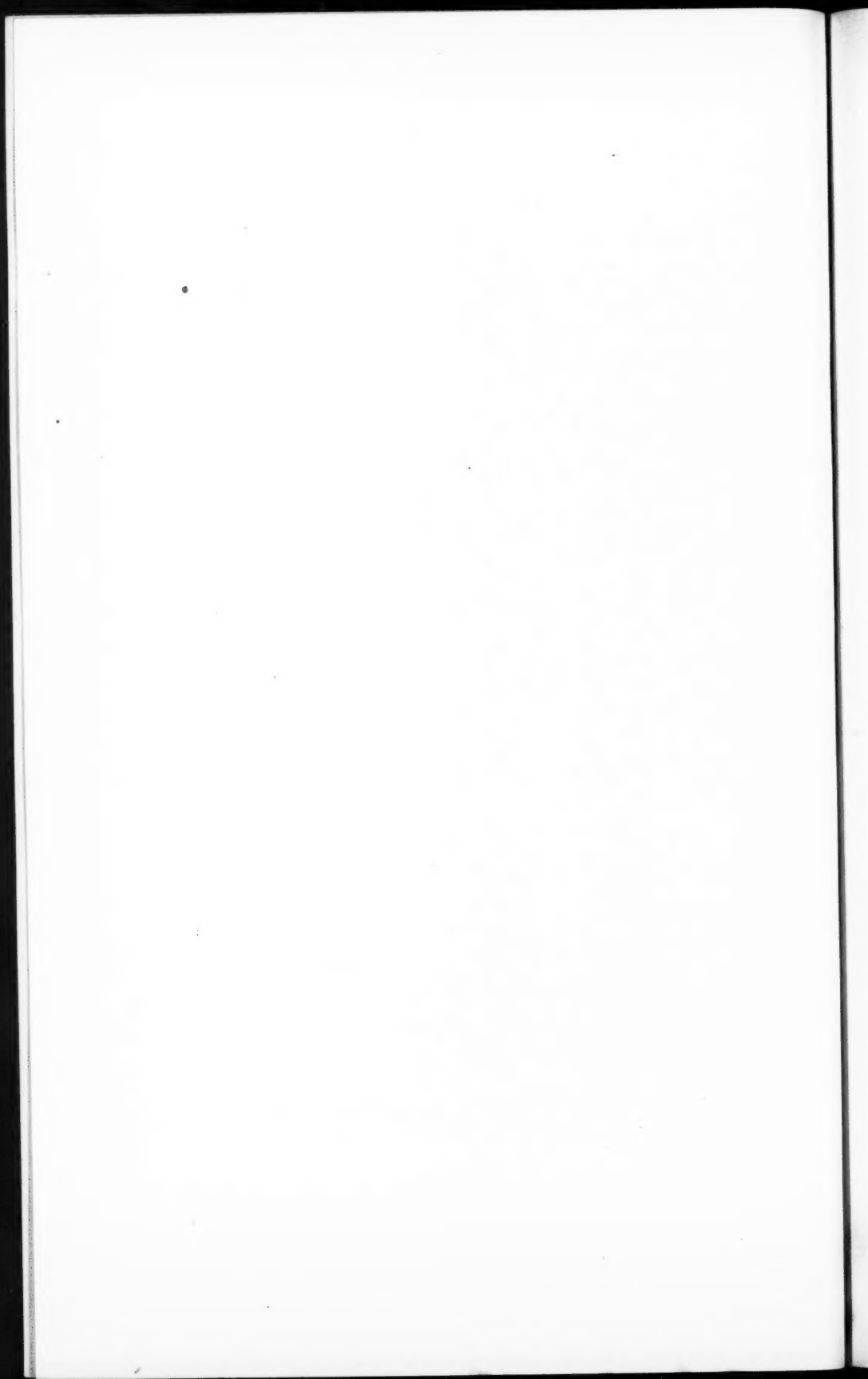
Did I not write to you from New York? I certainly meant to, and thought I had, and have been expecting to hear from you. If I did not write to you, let me now do what I intended to do—express to you our warm gratitude for your attention to the removal of the remains of our dear Aunt. Before we left we had the satisfaction of depositing them in the family vault.

I find you have had brave times since I left. What a pity that poor Fasquelle could not have lived to take his part in the pleasure and the pain!—I suppose you and Dr. Williams, as I requested, were present at the reading of my "Review" before it was printed. As it is put forth as I wrote it, I presume you found it all correct. What I said of White I see is left out. I suppose it was judged best. I know not how he stands affected. It would certainly have

³Elizabeth M. Farrand, *History of the University of Michigan*, Ann Arbor, 1885, p. 92.



DR. HENRY TAPPAN
First President of the University of Michigan



appeared better had he written to me after his return from Europe. Winchell, Boise, Watson, Chapin, with Haven at their head! What a show is this! O thou great University, are thy pillars worthy of thee? An American and a Methodist here in Berlin remarked before I came here, when he heard of Haven's election, that he had been trying for several years to get that position. It will probably be found out that the plot was formed at the time of Haven's resignation.—Mrs. Tappan received a letter, a day or two ago, from Mrs. Hunt from which we learn that you are all well. Remember us all most affectionately to Mrs. Douglass, and all your family.

We are deeply affected by the true and noble friendship which has been manifested towards us—Michigan the scene of so much conflict and trouble, nevertheless, to our recollections, is filled with sunshine. Well, my dear Douglass, I was indeed single hearted, and tried to do my duty. I think I did not try in vain—Here in Berlin we have found a very agreeable residence. If you should come in upon us, you would be surprised how homelike we are. I am very thankful that we came here. It has been very probably the means of saving Rebecca's life, and it has been good for us all. John's health is much better. Mrs. Tappan has been vigorous. The Dr. has been hard at work and therefore well. I have recuperated wonderfully and scarcely bear a scar of my battles. The little Rudolph is all life and activity.

I hope you will write to me. You live in the land of News.

Believe me ever most truly yours,

H. P. TAPPAN

Particularly interesting in this letter is the indication that Professor Andrew D. White was mentioned in President Tappan's review. This was a strong and sometimes bitter statement submitted to the Regents by Dr. Tappan after his dismissal, in which he does not hesitate to give his opinion of many of the leaders in the cabal which led to his dismissal. It was published by the Regents in 1915, in the volume giving the reports of the Regents meetings through 1863. That White was mentioned and later eliminated is an interesting fact. The other names mentioned in the letter were faculty opponents of Dr. Tappan and his policies, with the exception of Dr.

Erastus O. Haven, his successor in the Presidency, who had resigned his professorship in 1856 and was then living in Boston. The references at the end of the letter are to his son John L. Tappan, who had served as Librarian; his son-in-law, Dr. Brünnow, Professor of Astronomy, who left the University at the same time Dr. Tappan did; and his grandson Rudolph.

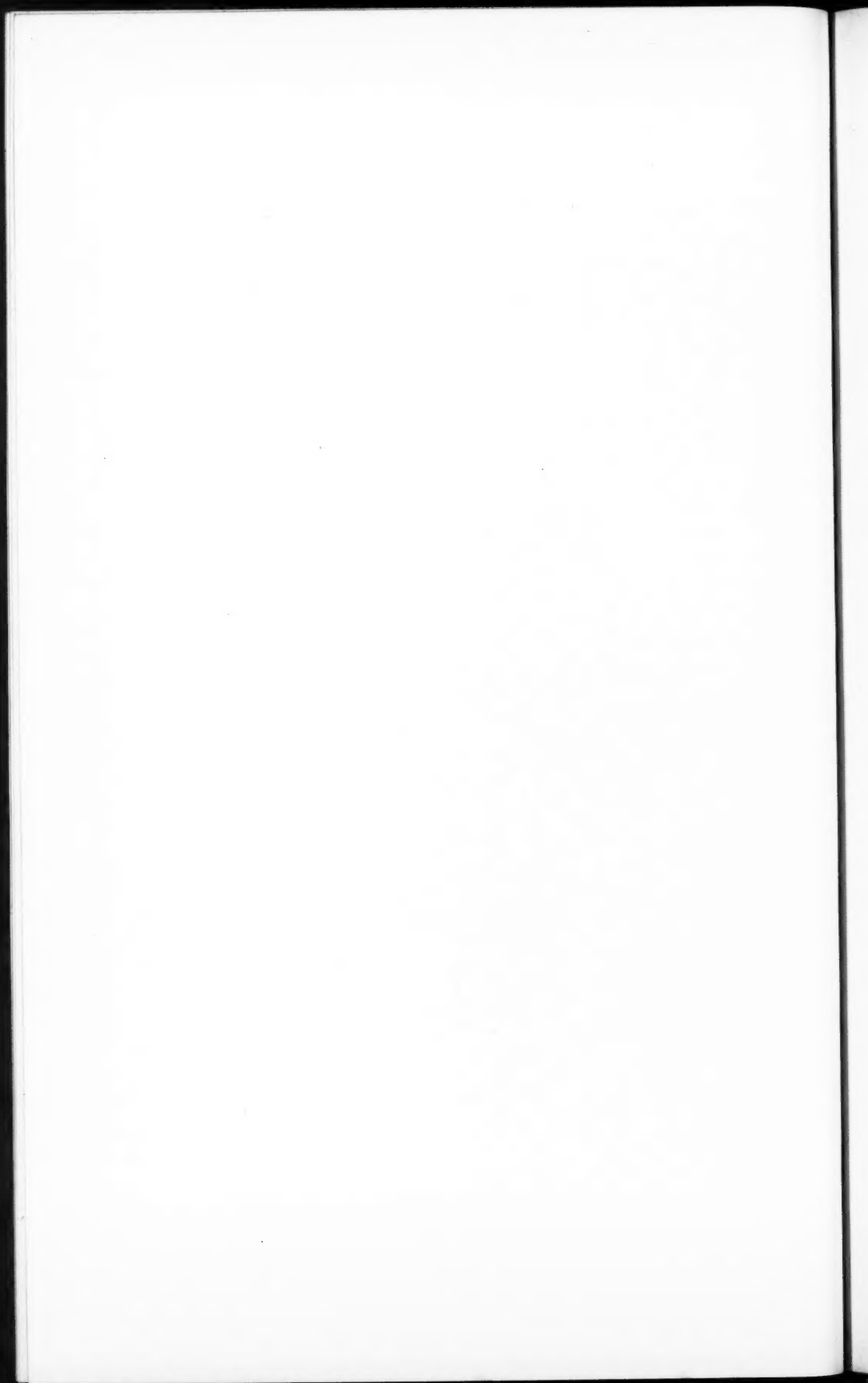
One reason undoubtedly for the interest on the part of the Regents in the appointment of a president was a growing lack of accord within the faculty. Though there were only six professors, even this small body was divided into groups. An acrimonious dispute over the fraternities and the methods of dealing with them had had its influence on faculty accord, but even more important, was the feeling which arose over the distribution of hours of teaching. Largely because of the opposition of three members of the Faculty,—Professors Williams, Whedon, and Agnew,—the situation grew so tense that Professor Andrew Ten Brook, who held the Chair of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy resigned, an action which he later came to believe was a great mistake.⁴ Later, in 1864, Professor Ten Brook returned to serve for thirteen years as Librarian.

Within six months the Regents, at the final meeting, on January 31, 1851, of the old Board whose members held their positions as appointees of the Governor, declared that the terms of office of these three members of the faculty were over, giving as a reason their view that it was expedient for the incoming Board of Regents to reorganize the Faculty of arts and that it was expedient for the expiring Board to provide for that contingency by "determining the terms of the existing members of the faculty." Most of the trouble centered about the Rev. D. D. Whedon whose pronounced anti-slavery views had troubled the Regents, and because, according to a resolution previously presented, he advocated a doctrine called "The Higher Law," unauthorized by the Bible. When the new Board assembled all three men were asked whether they

⁴Andrew Ten Brook, *American State Universities*, Cincinnati, 1875, p. 208. This was, in effect, the first history of the University.



ABRAM SAGER



wished to continue in their professorships. Whedon and Agnew replied they wished to withdraw. Professor Williams remained.

Echoes of this discussion are to be found in Dr. Douglass' letter to Palmer, of December 21, 1851, already quoted, where Dr. Whedon's name was mentioned and then crossed out, as well as in a communication to Dr. Pitcher written by Drs. Sager and Douglass, a draft of which, presumably in Sager's handwriting, is found among these papers. It was dated May 1, 1848, and furnishes some interesting information as to the beginnings of the trouble which nearly put an end to the usefulness of the University.

Ann Arbor, May 1, '48

Dear Sir.

Some difficulties arising out of the communications from the Committee on Studies have induced us to address you in relation to it, and should be glad to have the correspondence considered entirely confidential. The faculty have had the communication under consideration and find it very difficult if not quite impossible to reconcile the several sections and are apprehensive that there has been error in the transcript made by the Secretary. We therefore solicit an explanation—We understand the communication to direct that 12 recitations be prepared by the students daily; viz, 3 for each class, which is the usual number—It further assigns to the Profs. of Geology & Mod. Lang. & Chemistry during their terms of service to hear 6 recitations daily, or one-half of the entire no. It further directs that the course of study as laid down in the scheme be carried out fully, to do which would require of the *resident faculty* at least 10 recitations daily. Now if latter requirement be correct it is obvious that the plan is impracticable without an increase of the total no. of recitations to be prepared daily. We make the statement not for the purpose of objecting to the increase of duty assigned *us* but solely for the purpose of pointing out what *may have been* an oversight in the assignment of time. The *Resident faculty* understand that they are required to hear 3 recitations daily each—besides the 6 assigned to the *non resident* faculty—which view of the matter but increases the difficulty if 12 be the entire no. required of the students.

We are not acquainted with the views of the Board of Regents in relation to the relative importance of the various studies required to be pursued in the Collegiate Course or the relative time that should be directed to each, but beg leave to present a statement of the proportion of time at present assigned to each department. The following statement we believe to be at least a *close* approximation if not entirely correct, viz—

There are in each year 2,340 recitations which are distributed as follows

Department of Ancient Languages	815 (or nearly 1/3)
Department of Language, Rhetoric & Hist.	610 (or nearly 1/4)
Department of Nat. Phil. & Math.	375 (or nearly 1/6)
Department of Mor. & Int. Phil.	245 (or nearly 1/9)
Department of Chem. & Geol.	145 (or nearly 1/16)
Department of Mod. Languages	100 (or nearly 1/23)
Department of Bot. & Zool.	50 (or nearly 1/46)

The recitations in the Dept. of Ancient Languages are distributed among the resident faculty.

With grateful appreciation of the disposition to enhance the importance of our duties, and assurance of our entire willingness to carry out any practicable scheme we conclude by expressing a hope that the course may be so settled as to maintain the amicable feeling at present existing among the members of the Faculty and the Board of Regents.

Very Respectfully yours

A. SAGER & DOUGLASS

N. B. Prof. TenB. will probably seek an interview with the committee tomorrow.

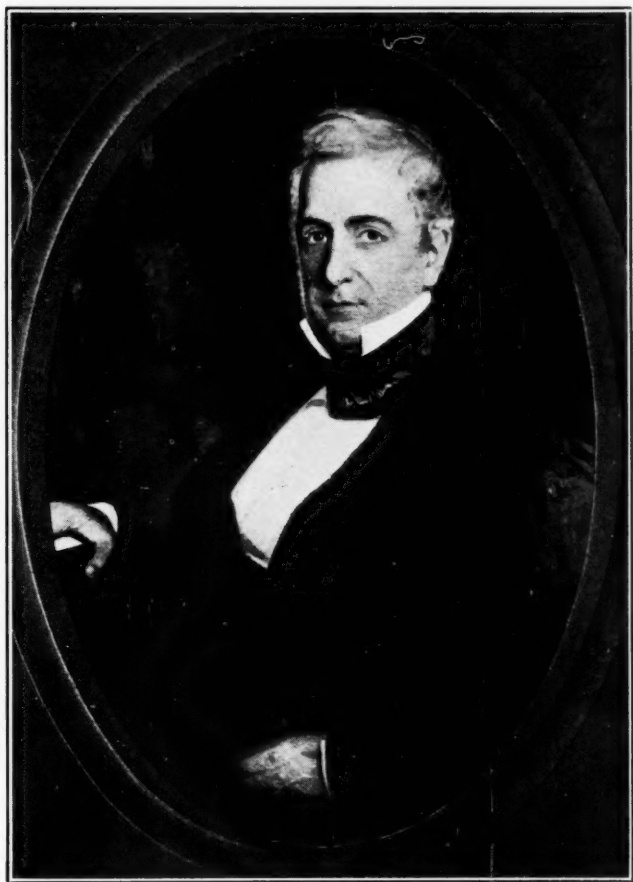
Dr. Pitcher's reply was prompt.

Detroit, May 2, 1848

Profs. Sager & Douglass,

Dear Sirs,

The special committee on studies, to whose communication your letter of yesterday refers, had in mind at the time of writing, a design to augment the importance of the natural sciences in the scale of studies pursued at the University, without affecting injuriously the present course of classical studies. So also in relation to the modern languages. Many things in regard to the latter they supposed could best be



ZINA PITCHER

taught orally or as it were by tradition. For this reason, they proposed to give the professor in that Department more time in the recitation room than has hitherto been allowed him—the hours of study & recitation being in their minds synonymous. If the Freshman Class has too much to do to engage profitably in the study of French etc I think he (the Prof.) need not feel compelled to spend the fourth hour with his classes. To supply in some measure the want of text book in the Dept. of Botany & Zoology, they proposed to give additional time to Dr. Sager, believing that he could better succeed in exciting an interest in favor of these branches by giving him the time to talk to & question the students than by giving them the hour to prepare a lesson by themselves. If the plan does not work well, a report from the faculty to that effect will put all right when the Regents meet, as you perceive the changes made are subject to the approval of the Board. In this way I think the harmony of the faculty need not be disturbed nor the amicable relations which now do & always should exist between the faculty & Board of Regents.

Professor Williams was at the House when your letter was brought from the P. Office, which seemed to make it necessary for me to say in general terms that you had inquired how the two parts of our communication were to be reconciled to each other, as his visit had the same object in view.

Very Respectfully Yours

Z. PITCHER

P. S. for Dr. Douglass—I have had one conversation with the major on the subject of the Laboratory—am afraid like yourself of trouble with him & think that he would not only like to postpone its erection till after the Ram is constructed but then cause it to be removed to this place. I shall try him again & again.

The memorandum which follows and the Regents' reports of that period indicate that the "laboratory" referred to in the postscript was the Old Medical Building erected in 1849. The second University Building, now the South Wing of Old University Hall, and the old Medical Building, razed in 1914, were built at about the same time under Dr. Douglass' direction.

Of particular interest because of its historical significance is an unsigned and undated draft, in Dr. Douglass' handwriting, of a memorial to be addressed to the Regents advocating the establishment of a Medical Department. From the published report of the proceedings of the Regents for January 7, 1847, we learn that a "communication from Drs. Sager, Douglass and others, surgeons, physicians, etc.," was presented by Justice Charles W. Whipple, a member of the Board *ex-officio*, in regard to the establishment of a Department of Medicine.

What is obviously the original draft for this communication was found among Dr. Douglass' papers.

Memorial to be addressed to the Board of Regents of the Un. of Mich. & to be signed by four Physicians & Surgeons of the State of Michigan.

Asking for the organization of a Medical department in the University of Mich. for the following reasons.

1st. That there is no institution of the kind in the State & that in consequence a large number of medical students are compelled to resort to other state (s) to attend lectures. In an examination in such catalogues as we could conveniently obtain we find the names of seventy students who have in the last two terms attended lectures in the neighboring states. In addition to this a very considerable number of students never attend lectures but in our present state of laws enter the practice of their profession but poorly prepared to deal with the lives of their fellow men—the result of which is to bring the med. prof. into great disrepute & to depreciate the standard of Medical education. Hence we would recommend the organization of the Medical department by the appointment of the following professorships contemplated in the organic law & assigning to each professor the duties attached until otherwise provided for.

1st. A professor of Anatomy to discharge the duties appertaining to Comparative & General Anat. Physiology & Materia Medica.

2nd. A professor of Surgery with the duties of Special & Surgical Anat. & Surgery.

3rd. Practice of Physic—duties—Theory & Practice of Med. Obstetrics & Diseases of Women and children.

4th. *Materia Medica*—Pharmacy & Medical Jurisprudence with the duties of Pharmacy & Med. Jurisprudence.

Should the income of the institution not be sufficient to warrant the support of these professorships the department may be able to sustain itself by permitting the professors to receive fees from students. In that case the only expense that the University would incur would be the erection of buildings. In the department of Arts & Sciences a Laboratory is very much needed & in erecting this a slight modification of the original plan will be required to accomodate the Med. Depart. Accompanying this will be found plans of such buildings as will be required (subject to slight modifications). From the careful estimates of several competent mechanics we are of the opinion that the cost of this building cannot exceed \$4,500. A building to correspond with this for the accommodation of the library & Museum could be erected at a less expense, & would be amply large for many years to come. By an examination of the plans it will be seen that necessary expense incurred by the Med. dep. will not vary far from \$2,000.

By a representation of the present faculty herewith accompanying, it will be seen that by the erection of this building or buildings rooms will be vacated in the present dormitory to such an extent that students can be accommodated for several years to come if it should be necessary.

Should this dep. be organized we would recommend that the length of Med. term should be at least 6 mo. & that students be admitted to an examination for a degree after one complete course. That they be examined by a board of censors appointed by the Regents or State Med. Soc. & graduates by the standard of qualifications alone.

From this it would appear that the movement for the establishment of Medical training in the University originated largely at least with Dr. Douglass, and that this document may be considered the first step, not only toward the establishment of the Medical School, but also toward making the little institution in Ann Arbor of that day actually a university through the establishment of a real professional school. The fact that this Memorial is in Dr. Douglass' handwriting at least suggests that he had a major part in the plans.

Of particular interest because of its historical significance is an unsigned and undated draft, in Dr. Douglass' handwriting, of a memorial to be addressed to the Regents advocating the establishment of a Medical Department. From the published report of the proceedings of the Regents for January 7, 1847, we learn that a "communication from Drs. Sager, Douglass and others, surgeons, physicians, etc.," was presented by Justice Charles W. Whipple, a member of the Board *ex-officio*, in regard to the establishment of a Department of Medicine.

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As a result of this communication a committee of five Regents was appointed to consider the subject and on the following day, January 8, 1847, the committee presented a report which approved the establishment of the four professorships, in almost the same words as in the communication prepared by Dr. Douglass, as well as prescribing that the term of lectures be for six months. In regard to buildings the committee reported as follows: "Your committee have had under consideration the plan of buildings submitted to them and have concluded, though without much time for deliberation, to recommend the plan of two buildings according to the suggestion of the Faculty of the University in their memorial addressed to this Board." This report at first was approved, but after some discussion, Chief Justice Epaphroditus Ransom "moved to recommit, which was carried."

The following day a second report was presented by the committee, through its chairman Edward Mundy, in which it was pointed out that the Regents had no money or authority to erect buildings save through action of the Legislature, and the Chairman presented a resolution to the effect that "the Board make application to the Legislature for leave to apply the Income Fund of the University to the general purposes of the University buildings, etc." This resolution was not adopted, however, and after some discussion Regent Austin E. Wing offered a resolution providing for the erection of a Medical Building, omitting any reference to the Legislature, and that the sum of \$5,000 "be hereby appropriated for that object out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated." This resolution was then adopted with only one dissenting vote, that of Major Kearsley.

Thus early in the history of the University, and as the direct result of the proposal embodied in Dr. Douglass' memorial, the question of the jurisdiction of the Regents in regard to the expenditure of University funds presented itself and the policy which has always been followed by the Regents since that time defined.

So important was the principle involved deemed by the friends of the University that when the new state constitution was adopted in 1850 it was provided that: "The Board of Regents shall have the general supervision of the University, and the direction and control of all expenditures from the University interest fund."

SYLLABUS OF MICHIGAN HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY PROF. JAMES O. KNAUSS
Western State Teachers' College
KALAMAZOO

THIS outline with the attached bibliography is published for three reasons: First, the compiler hopes that he may be able to aid students and general readers who desire to study the history of Michigan in some detail. Second, he would like to receive constructive criticism, so that the outline may be improved for use in his own classes. Third, Dr. George N. Fuller, the editor of the *Michigan History Magazine*, offered to publish it in the *Magazine*.

It may be well to state that neither outline nor bibliography is intended to be exhaustive. Such references are chiefly used as are accessible in any part of the State. Very few local histories are listed, except those which contain unusual material of state-wide interest.

GEOGRAPHY OF MICHIGAN

- I. Waterways
 - (1) The lakes and their historic significance
 - (2) The chief rivers and their historic significance
- II. Topography
 - (1) Hills
 - (2) Prairies
 - (3) Oak openings
 - (4) Swamps
 - (5) Sand dunes
- III. Climate
- IV. Natural resources
 - (1) Minerals
 - (2) Lumber
 - (3) Game and fish
- V. Soils

References

Chase, pp. 1-126.
Wood, *Geography*, Chapters 2-6.
Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, Vol. II, Chapters 1-2.

Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*, pp. 1-48.

Parkins, pp. 1-19, 151-169.

HISTORY PRIOR TO 1763

A. The Aborigines

- I. The tribes
- II. Life among the Indians
 - (1) Characteristics
 - (2) Work
 - (3) Implements
 - (4) Amusements
- III. Legends

References

Larzelere, pp. 1-12.

Utley, Volume I, pp. 85-93.

Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chapters 1-2.

Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, especially the *Introduction*.

Wright.

Littlejohn.

Hollands.

Hulst.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXXII, pp. 392-394, 459-462.

The Jesuits Relations, Kenton, (ed.) see detailed index on Indians, pp. 510-511.

B. The Coming of the White Men

I. Introductory

- (1) Explorations by the French on the Atlantic coast
 - (a) Verrazano
 - (b) Cartier
- (2) French Settlement in Canada
 - (a) Port Royal
 - (b) Quebec (Influence of Henry IV, Sully and Champlain)
- (3) Early conflict with the Iroquois
- (4) The coming of missionaries
 - (a) Recollets
 - (b) Jesuits (*The Jesuit Relations*)
- (5) Le Caron and Champlain on the shores of Lake Huron

References

Larzelere, pp. 12-13.

Hemans, *History of Michigan*, pp. 9-23.

Utley, Vol. I, pp. 35-42, 109-115.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 32-36.
 Wrong, Vol. I, Chaps. 4, 7-10.
 Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*.
 Parkman, *The Pioneers of France in the New World*.
 Channing and Lansing, pp. 10-27.
 Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, pp. 9-11, 21-25.
 Cooley, pp. 1-7.
The Jesuit Relations.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

II. The French in Michigan before 1668

- (1) Nicolet
- (2) Jogues and Raymbault
- (3) Radisson and Groseilliers
- (4) Menard
- (5) Allouez

References

Larzelere, pp. 13-21.
 Hemans, pp. 23-34.
 Utley, etc., pp. 41-52.
 Moore, *The Northwest*, pp. 1-22.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 36-65.
 Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France*.
 Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*.
 Cooley, pp. 7-10.
 Campbell, pp. 8-12.
 Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, pp. 203-210, 231-245.
 Fowle, Chaps. 1-9.
Jesuit Relations.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

Michigan History Magazine.

Channing and Lansing, pp. 27-39.

Wrong, Vol. I, Chaps. 11, 13, 18.

Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, pp. 25-28.

III. The French in Michigan (1668-1761)

- (1) The founding of Sault de Ste. Marie and St. Ignace
- (2) Saint Lussou, at the "Soo" in 1671
- (3) The explorations of Joliet
- (4) LaSalle in Michigan
 - (a) The Griffin
 - (b) Fort Miamis
 - (c) Trip across the peninsula
- (5) Rivalry between English and French
- (6) The founding of St. Joseph

- (7) Cadillac and the founding of Detroit
- (8) Charlevoix's visit to Michigan
- (9) The changing site of the Mackinac post (1705-1760)
- (10) The French and Indian War
 - (a) The fall of Niagara, Quebec and Montreal
 - (b) Surrender of Detroit (1760) and other Michigan Posts (1761)

References

- Larzelere, pp. 21-57, 79-84.
Hemans, pp. 34-61.
Utley, etc. Vol. I, pp. 52-67, 119-242.
Moore, *The Northwest*, pp. 22-105.
Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 65-120.
Cooley, pp. 10-39.
Campbell, pp. 12-13, 20-110.
Parkins, pp. 20-81.
Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France*.
Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*.
Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*.
Parkman, *A Half Century of Conflict*.
Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*.
Channing and Lansing, pp. 40-112.
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XIII, pp. 201-239;
Vol. XVII, pp. 24-54.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXVIII,
pp. 179-186; Vol. XXXV, pp. 545-553; Vol. XXXIX, pp.
280-291; and especially the Cadillac papers in Vols.
XXXIII and XXXIV.
Catlin, Chaps. 1-7.
Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, pp. 29-54.
Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, Chaps. 2-6.
Fowle, Chaps. 10-18.
Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, pp. 210-218.
Thwaites, *Father Marquette*.
Repplier, *Pere Marquette*.
Wrong, Vol. I, Chaps. 14-17, 18, 20; Vol. II, Scattering.
Laut.
Jesuit Relations.

IV. Life in Michigan during the French regime

- (1) Life among the missionaries
- (2) Life among the fur traders
- (3) Conflict between missionaries and fur traders
- (4) Life among the settlers in the Detroit area

References

- Larzelere, pp. 57-74.
 Parkins, pp. 81-84.
 Campbell, parts of chaps. 2-6.
 Utley, etc., vol. I, 71-81, 97-105; 311-322.
 Fuller, *Economics and Social Beginnings*, pp. 96-115.
Jesuit Relations.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.
 Thwaites, *Father Marquette*.
 Repplier, *Pere Marquette*.

MICHIGAN UNDER BRITISH CONTROL

A. Before the American Revolution

I. Pontiac's uprising

- (1) Causes
- (2) Chief scenes of conflict
 - (a) Detroit
 - (b) Mackinac
 - (c) St. Joseph
- (3) Results

II. Royal Proclamation of 1763 and results

III. Quebec Act and results

References

- Larzelere, pp. 87-108.
 Hemans, pp. 63-76.
 Utley, etc., Vol. I, 245-300.
 Moore, *The Northwest*, pp. 106-205.
 Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, Vol. I, Chaps. 7-12.
 Channing and Lansing, pp. 112-150.
 Fowle, Chap. 19.
 Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*.
 Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, pp. 120-146.
 Farmer, Chap. 38.
 Cooley, pp. 40-78.
 Campbell, pp. 111-158.
 Catlin, Chaps. 8-13.
 Moore, *The History of Michigan*, pp. 120-156.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

B. From the outbreak of the Revolution to 1796

I. The War for American Independence

- (1) Hamilton and George Rogers Clark
- (2) The removal of the fort on the straits of Mackinac to the island

- (3) Spanish attack on St. Joseph
- (4) Treaty of Paris
- II. Refusal of British to give up the territory
- III. American expeditions against the Indians in the Northwest Territory
 - (1) Harmar
 - (2) St. Clair
 - (3) Wayne
- IV. Treaty of Greenville
- V. Jay's treaty with England
- VI. Arrival of Americans at Detroit (July 11, 1796)

References

- Larzelere, pp. 111-132.
 Hemans, pp. 76-94.
 Utley, etc., Vol. I, pp. 325-361; Vol. II, pp. 99-121.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chaps. 10-12, 14.
 Moore, *The Northwest*, pp. 207-314.
 Cooley, pp. 79-119.
 Campbell, pp. 158-197.
 Channing and Lansing, pp. 151-164.
 Catlin, Chaps. 14-19.
 Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, Vol. I, Chaps. 13-14.
 Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, pp. 3-72.
 Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, pp. 149-187.
 Fowle, Chaps. 20-21.
Michigan History Magazine.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.
 Farmer, Chap. 39.

MICHIGAN UNDER AMERICAN CONTROL (1796-1932)

A. As a territory (1796-1837)

- I. Government prior to 1805
 - (1) Claims of various states to Michigan
 - (2) Ordinance of 1784
 - (3) Northwest Ordinance of 1787
 - (4) Part of Northwest Territory to 1800
 - (5) Michigan divided between Northwest Territory and Indiana Territory (1800-1803)
 - (6) A part of Indiana Territory (1803-1805)

References

- Larzelere, pp. 133-143.
 Hemans, pp. 95-102.

- Utley, etc., Vol. II, pp. 49-70, 75-82, 125-143.
 Cooley, pp. 120-137.
 Campbell, pp. 198-231.
 Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, Chaps. 11-17.
 Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, pp. 75-86.
 Catlin, Chaps. 20-23.
 Moore, *The Northwest*, pp. 314-385.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chap. 13; pp. 262-267.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

II. Government (1805-1835)

- (1) Act organizing the territory of Michigan
- (2) The establishment of the government
- (3) First territorial representative to Congress (1819)
- (4) Development of counties and townships
- (5) First elective legislative council
- (6) Governors (1805-1835)

References

- Larzelere, pp. 143-145, 183-184.
 Hemans, pp. 102-104, 129, 130, 133, 134-135, 136-137.
 Utley, etc., Vol. II, pp. 135-158, 268-269, 271-272.
 Cooley, parts of Chaps. 8-11.
 Campbell, parts of Chaps. 10-14.
 Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, Chap. 17.
 Catlin, Chap. 24.
 Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*, pp. xlv-lxi, 82-91, 531-34.
 McLaughlin, *Cass*, Chaps. 1-4.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 267-289.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

III. Removal of Indians

- (1) Treaty of Greenville (1795)
- (2) Treaty of Detroit
- (3) Treaty of Saginaw
- (4) Treaty of Chicago
- (5) Treaty of Washington
- (6) Treaty of LaPointe

References

- Larzelere, Chap. 17.
 Hemans, pp. 92, 105, 129, 132-133, 135, 188.
 Utley, etc., Vol. II, pp. 111-121, 156-158, *et al.*
 Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, pp. 58-59, 520-530, lxiv.
 Cooley, parts of Chaps. 6, 10.

Campbell, parts of Chaps. 8, 10, 13.
McLaughlin, *Cass*, Chap. 4.
Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

IV. Provisions for selling land to settlers

- (1) Land Ordinance of 1785
- (2) Later changes
- (3) Land offices in Michigan

References

Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*, pp. 62-65.
Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, pp. 247-254.
Utley, etc., Vol. II, Chap. 3, *et al.*
Treat, especially Chaps. 2-5.
Cooley, parts of Chap. 10.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

V. Transportation facilities

- (1) To Michigan
 - (a) By water
 - (b) By land
- (2) In Michigan
 - (a) The national roads
 - (b) The territorial roads

References

Larzelere, pp. 241-258.
Hemans, pp. 129-130, 135.
Utley, etc., Vol. II, Chaps. 19-20.
Cooley, parts of Chap. 10.
Campbell, parts of Chap. 13.
Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*, pp. 69-79.
Parkins, Chaps. 10 and 11.
Channing and Lansing, Chap. 26.
Farmer, Chaps. 83, 87.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

VI. Causes of immigration to Michigan

- (1) External
- (2) Internal
 - (a) Cheap land
 - (b) Easy transportation
 - (c) Favorable reports
- (3) Cass' activities to counteract the unfavorable effect of Tiffin's report

References

- Larzelere, Chap. 16.
 Hemans, parts of Chap 9.
 Utley, Vol. II, parts of Chaps. 11, 18 and 19.
 Cooley, parts of Chap. 10.
 Campbell, parts of Chaps 13 and 14.
 Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*, Chap. 2.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

VII. Settlements

- (1) Sources of settlers
- (2) Towns settled

References

The best single reference is Fuller's *Economic and Social Beginnings*. The forty volumes of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* comprise a veritable storehouse of material. The various local histories contain valuable information. Larzelere, Hemans, Utley, Cooley and Campbell have scattering references to the subjects.

VIII. Life among the pioneers

- (1) The fur traders
- (2) The settlers
 - (a) Work
 - (b) Amusements
 - (c) Diseases
 - (d) Hardships
- (3) Hiram Moore and the combine

References

- Larzelere, pp. 76-77, Chaps. 18-19.
 Hemans, parts of Chaps. 9 and 10.
 Cooley, Chap. 12.
 Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, Vol. I, Chaps. 14 and 16.
 Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*.
 Fowle, Chaps. 21-28.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, especially Vols. IV, V and XIV.
 Ford, *Sandy MacDonald's Man*.
 Johnson, *Michigan Fur Trade*.
Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XIV, pp. 415-437.
 Hodgman, especially pp. 32-43.
 Jackson.

IX. War of 1812

- (1) Conditions in Michigan before outbreak of war

- (2) Military operations
 - (a) Surrender of Detroit and Mackinac
 - (b) The battle of the Raisin
 - (c) Perry's victory
 - (d) Recapture of Detroit
- (3) Results of war

References

Larzelere, Chaps. 13, 14, 15.
Hemans, pp. 107-124.
Cooley, Chap. 9.
Campbell, Chaps. 11-12.
Utley, Vol. II, Chaps. 11-17, 19.
McLaughlin, *Cass*, Chap 3.
Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, Vol. I, Chap. 15.
Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*, pp. 49-50, *et al.*
Catlin, Chaps. 26-36.
Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chap. 16.
Farmer, pp. 41, 42.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

X. Men of prominence in Territorial Michigan

- (1) Lewis Cass
- (2) Augustus B. Woodward
- (3) Father Gabriel Richard
- (4) Henry R. Schoolcraft

References

Larzelere, Chap. 16.
Hemans, pp. 125-126, *et al.*
McLaughlin, *Cass*.
Cooley.
Campbell.
Utley, Vol. II, especially parts of chaps. 19, 20, and 21.
Rosalita, pp. 59-111.
Michigan History Magazine, Oct. 1925, pp. 515-546.
Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal*.
Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*.
Smith.
Young.
Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 270-276, 313-319.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

B. As a State (1837-1865)

I. Events leading up to statehood

- (1) The shifting boundaries of Michigan, 1805-1835
- (2) The Toledo War

- (3) The Constitution of 1835
- (4) Conflict with the national government
- (5) Michigan admitted into the Union

References

- Larzelere, Chap. 20.
 Hemans, pp. 144-154.
 Utley, Vol. II, Chap. 25, Vol. III, Chaps. 1-4.
 Cooley, Chap. 11.
 Campbell, Chap. 15.
 Thwaites, *George Rogers Clark*, pp. 75-111.
 Soule.
 Hemans, *Mason*, Chaps. 7-11, 13.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXVI.
 pp. 597-631, *et al.*
 Catlin, Chaps. 62-63.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 334-349.

II. Political events to 1850

- (1) Governors
- (2) Removal of capitol to Lansing
- (3) Constitution of 1850

References

- Hemans, pp. 182-188, 191-192, 195-199.
 Utley, Vol. III, Chaps. 10-17, 19, 22.
 Cooley, parts of Chap. 15.
 Campbell, pp. 513-539.
 Fuller, *Messages*, Vols. 1 and 2.
 Fuller, *Governors*.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

III. Panic of 1837

- (1) Causes
 - (a) Overdevelopment and speculation in land
 - (b) Reckless banking
 - (c) Overdevelopment of transportation facilities by the state
 - (Account of projected railroads and canals)
- (2) Results

References

- Larzelere, Chap. 21.
 Hemans, Chap. 11.
 Utley, Vol. III, Chaps. 5-9.
 Cooley, Chaps. 13-14.
 Campbell, pp. 490-508.

Hemans, *Mason*, Chaps. 15, 18-20.

Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*.

Catlin, Chaps. 64-66.

Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XV, pp. 575-633.

Lillie, pp. 154-156, 175-176.

Parkins, pp. 262-265.

Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 349-355, 361-363.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

IV. Railroads before 1865

(1) Names and location

(2) Railroad war

References

Larzelere, pp. 259-266.

Hemans, pp. 164-165, 176-177, 200, 213.

Utley, Vol. III, pp. 116-120, 319-324, 333, 407-408.

Cooley, pp. 249, 289-291.

Campbell, pp. 418, 496, 520.

Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings*.

Parkins, pp. 265-270.

Catlin, Chaps. 67, 75, 84.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

Farmer, Chap. 84.

V. Education

(1) Elementary

(a) Father Richard's efforts

(b) The law of 1809

(c) The recommendations of Cass

(d) The law of 1827 and its amendments

(e) The article on education in the constitution of 1835 (authors, Crary and Pierce)

(f) The first State Superintendent of Public Instruction

(g) Later changes, such as the union schools and the development of free schools

(2) Public secondary and higher education

(a) The Catholepistemiad (1817)

(b) The University

(c) The branches of the University

(d) Michigan State Normal School

(e) Michigan Agricultural College

(f) High Schools

(3) Private secondary and higher education

(a) The academies

(b) The denominational colleges

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 Hemans, pp. 106, 128-129, 155-158, 163-164, 299-301.
 Utley, Vol. III, pp. 51-52, 217, 237-256, 317-318, 389, 412-413.
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 Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 317-319, 479-493.
 Hoyt and Ford.
 Putnam, *Primary and Second Public Education in Michigan*.
 Putnam, *A History of the Michigan State Normal School*.
 Catlin, Chaps. 43, 69, 79.
 Jackson.
 Rosalita.
 McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XIV, et al.
 Hinsdale, *University of Michigan*.
 Shaw, *University of Michigan*.
 Beal, *Michigan Agricultural College*.

- VI. The Development of the Upper Peninsula
- (1) Background before 1840
 - (2) Douglass Houghton and his work
 - (3) The first copper mines after 1840
 - (4) The development of iron mining
 - (5) The "Soo" Canal
 - (a) The attempt to construct in 1837-1839
 - (b) The attempts to interest the national government
 - (c) The construction under the supervision of Charles T. Harvey
 - (d) Later development

References

- Larzelere, Chaps. 23 and 26.
 Hemans, pp. 162-163, 188-190, 201-202.
 Utley, Vol. III, Chap. 20.
 Cooley, pp. 372-382.
 Campbell, pp. 526-527, 546.
 Fowle, Chaps. 29, 31, 32.
 Channing and Lansing, pp. 362-363.
 Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Chap. 40.
 Williams.
Geological Reports of Douglass Houghton. (Fuller, ed.)

McLaughlin, *Cass*.

Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chap. 23.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

VII. Sectionalism and its influence on Michigan

- (1) Chief causes of split between North and South
- (2) Reasons why Michigan was bitterly opposed to slavery
- (3) How the feeling against slavery manifested itself in Michigan
 - (a) By creating factions in the parties (Emergence of Bingham, Christianity, Howard and Chandler)
 - (b) By the organization of anti-slavery societies
 - (c) By the attitude of the churches
 - (d) By the aid given to fugitive slaves (Crosswhite Case)
 - (e) By the formation of new political parties: Liberty, Free Soil and Republican
- (4) Personal Liberty Law
- (5) Political campaigns after the rise of the Republican Party
- (6) The governors, 1854-1865
- (7) The Civil War and Michigan's record in it

References

Larzelere, Chaps. 24, 25.

Hemans, Chap. 13.

Utley, Vol. III, Chaps. 23-30.

Cooley, Chap. 17.

Campbell, pp. 563-568.

Catlin, Chaps. 90-92.

Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Vol. I, Chaps. 36, 37.

Fuller, *Governors*.

Zachariah Chandler, Chaps. 6-8, 11-15.

Harris, Chaps. 3-9.

Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860*.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections contains valuable material especially the articles written by A. D. P. Van Buren.

Dilla, Chap. 1.

Robertson.

McLaughlin, *Cass*.

Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chaps. 21, 22.

VIII. Notable migrations to Michigan (1840-1860)

- (1) The Hollanders
- (2) The Germans
- (3) The Mormons on Beaver Island

References

- Hemans, pp. 193-194, 315-316.
 Utley, Vol. III, Chap. 18; Vol. IV, pp. 256-261.
 Campbell, pp. 549-551.
 Cooley, pp. 296-298.
 Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Vol. I, Chap. 31; Vol. II, Chap. 51.
 Catlin, Chap 81.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 372-376, 529-534.
 Pieters.
 Russell.
 Quaife.

C. Since the Civil War

I. Political events

- (1) The Constitutional Convention of 1867
- (2) The defeat of Chandler
- (3) The new capitol
- (4) The agitation for an inflated currency
- (5) The introduction of the Australian ballot
- (6) The Presidential election of 1892
- (7) Corrupt practices act
- (8) Direct primaries, initiative, referendum
- (9) Woman suffrage and recall
- (10) The governors
- (11) The constitution of 1909

References

- Hemans, Chaps. 14-16, 18; pp. 294-298.
 Utley, Vol. IV, Chaps. 1-3, 5, 7-9, 11, 14.
 Cooley, pp. 387-394.
 Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Vol. II, Chaps. 48, 60.
 Fuller, *Governors*.
 Dilla, Chaps. 2-9.
Zachariah Chandler, Chaps. 15-22.
 Harris, Chaps. 11-15.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chaps. 27, 28.
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

II. The passing of laissez faire

- (1) Social legislation
- (2) Conservation

References

- Larzelere, Chap. 28.
 Hemans, pp. 237-238, 260, 277, 312.

Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Chaps. 49, 50.

Chase, pp. 394-402.

III. Education.

- (1) Increased attendance in public schools
- (2) Development of high schools
- (3) Compulsory education
- (4) Broadening of the curriculum
- (5) Raising the required qualifications of teachers
- (6) The development of junior colleges
- (7) The continued development of institutions of higher learning

References

Larzelere, pp. 394-398.

Hemans, pp. 299-301.

Utley, Vol. IV, Chap. 20.

Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Vol. II, Chaps. 45-47.

Putnam, *Primary and Secondary Public Education*.

Moore, *History of Michigan*, pp. 493-511.

McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*.

Much information may also be gathered from the histories of various institutions of higher learning, among which may be mentioned Hinsdale's *University of Michigan*, Shaw's *The University of Michigan*, Beal's *Michigan Agricultural College*, Putnam's *Michigan State Normal School* and Knauss' *Western State Teachers College*.

IV. Development of industry and transportation facilities

- (1) Lumbering
- (2) Manufacture of furniture, salt, woolens, silk, cereals, chemicals, drugs, paper, and automobiles
- (3) Raising of celery, fruits, onions, and sugar beets
- (4) Good roads

References

Larzelere, Chaps. 27, 28, 32; pp. 266-269.

Hemans, Chaps. 21-24; pp. 264-265.

Utley, Vol. IV, Chaps. 17-19.

Fuller, *Historic Michigan*, Vol. II, Chaps. 38, 39, 41, 42.

Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chap. 25; pp. 537-539.

Parkins, Chap. 12.

Catlin, Chaps. 109-111, 117-118.

Chase, Chaps. 5-8, pp. 403-407.

Wood, *Geography*, Chaps. 8-12.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.

At least two novels, *The Blazed Trail* and *The Riverman*, by Stewart Edward White should be read to gain some appreciation of the lumbering industry.

V. Michigan in literature

- (1) Will Carleton
- (2) James Oliver Curwood
- (3) Edgar A. Guest
- (4) Rex Beach
- (5) Edna Ferber
- (6) Stewart Edward White
- (7) Ring W. Lardner

References

For a study of these writers, the reader is referred to books on contemporary American Literature, to *Who's Who in America*, and to the published works of these authors. For a comprehensive view of the subject the reader is referred to Mosher and Williams' *Anthology*.

VI. Michigan in the public affairs of the nation since 1865

- (1) Reconstruction after the Civil War
- (2) The disputed election of 1876
- (3) Burrows as representative and senator from Michigan
- (4) The Spanish American War
- (5) The World War

References

Larzelere, Chap 31.
 Hemans, pp. 248-249; Chap. 17.
 Utley, Vol. IV, Chaps. 7, 15.
 Catlin, Chaps. 108, 120.
 Moore, *History of Michigan*, Chaps. 29, 30.
 Zachariah Chandler, Chaps. 16-22.
 Harris, Chaps. 10-15.
 Landrum and Fuller.
 Orcutt.

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A. Bibliographical aids

Floyd B. Streeter, *Michigan Bibliography*, 2 vols. (1921, Michigan Historical Commission). This work is almost indispensable.

Bibliographies are also found in some of the books and publications listed below. Four of these may be noted here. An unusually discriminating bibliography of fifty pages is found in George N. Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, (1916,

Michigan Historical Commission). Two shorter lists are found in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 769-775, and Vol. XIII, Autumn number, pp. 704-716. Another list is found in Michigan, *A Student's Directive Guide*, (1931, Hillsdale Supply Co.)

B. Magazines and other serial publications

All files of Michigan newspapers are valuable as sources of historical material, although the information thus derived must be used with special discrimination.

Michigan History Magazine, 1917-1932, contains much important material. The publication is sadly in need of a good analytical index.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1914-1932, contains some material relating to Michigan. The *Index to Vols. I-XV 1914-1929*, distributed July 1932, makes this material much more readily accessible.

Michigan Farmer, published in Detroit, often contains articles which are helpful.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 1876-1929, in 40 volumes is the greatest single source of information. The material is very uneven in value and in historical reliability. However, every reader of Michigan History should have access to this publication. There is a two volume index (published by the state in 1904-1907) of the first thirty volumes. In Vol. XXXIX, there is a brief index of the first thirty-nine volumes. In addition each volume has its own index.

C. Published collections of source materials

In addition to the source material found in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, the following six collections should be noted:

George N. Fuller (ed.), *Geological Reports of Douglass Houghton* (1928, Michigan Historical Commission)

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George N. Fuller, (ed.), *Messages of the Governors of Michigan* (1925-1927, Michigan Historical Commission)

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D. Other works on Michigan History

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HISTORICAL NOTES

AMONG Michigan's women, past or present, perhaps none has been better or more widely known than Marie B. Ferrey whose death occurred June 25.

Mrs. Ferrey would have been 88 years old if she had lived until July 1. For a quarter of a century and until beyond her 80th year she labored to spread the gospel of Michigan history throughout the State, and even after advancing years forced her retirement from active work her heart was in the great museum she built up and she was always "coming back to work pretty soon."

No public servant of the State ever worked with greater zeal and self-forgetfulness than did Mrs. Ferrey. There was no such word as "overtime" in her vocabulary. It is safe to say there is scarcely a school building in Michigan in which she has not spoken unless it was built since she retired and she liked to talk in the little schools better than in the big ones. Her love for school children was genuine and they loved her. Business men and women of today will remember Mrs. Ferrey best as part of their school days. Her love of children was equalled only by her love for the pioneers. Her voice had a genuine ring when she spoke of the old days and bent her efforts to preserve the relics of the pioneer farm and home and business world.

The Michigan Pioneer Museum which is housed in the New State Building stands as a memorial to her life and work. This collection today could not be duplicated, being a source record of a social order that for Michigan is a thing of the past. Recently the University of Michigan estimated the monetary value of the collection to be half a million dollars, but its real worth to the State is of course entirely apart from its material value.

The editor feels that no words of his can do justice to her merits. Her work speaks for itself.

Mrs. Ferrey was born in Scheneyus, N. Y., July 1, 1844, and spent her girlhood and young womanhood in that State. She attended school at Cooperstown Seminary, having for roommate a niece of James Fenimore Cooper.

At 17 years of age she received a certificate to teach school and did teach until she married, in 1869, the late John Ferrey. A daughter, Oceana, was born to them in 1872. In 1882 the family came to Michigan and located in Saginaw, a year later moving to Lansing. Mr. Ferrey, who was a Civil War veteran, died in 1892.

Mrs. Ferrey first entered the State's employ in the office of the Auditor General, but served later in the Military Department, in the time of General Charles L. Eaton. It was while she was working in the office of the Auditor General that she began to collect the pioneer materials which later grew into the Museum. She became a member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and her interest in this work and in school children gained her the friendship and cooperation of Mr. Henry R. Pattengill then State Superintendent of Public Instruction and Secretary of the Pioneer and Historical Society. Through the public spirit of the State Board of Auditors space was provided for the beginnings of a Museum in a room on the fourth floor of the Capitol Building, but the displays eventually overran the corridors. In 1913 the Michigan Historical Commission was organized and received the Museum by deed of gift. Mrs. Ferrey became a staff member as Curator of the Museum. Through her unremitting efforts the Museum grew so large and valuable as to require other housing and finally was assigned fire-proof space in the new State Office Building when that structure was completed in 1922.

Mrs. Ferrey was for many years chairman of the Historical Committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. She was able as a platform speaker and was widely sought by clubs and organizations of all sorts whenever they needed an inspirational address on Michigan.



MRS. MARIE B. FERREY



Until very recent years Mrs. Ferrey was always interested in each new legislature and its work, and was often to be found in conference with members, seeking their support for the State's historical work.

She was a member of the Plymouth Congregational Church, Lansing.

Mrs. Ferrey is survived by the daughter, Mrs. C. A. Spaulding, 679 Taylor Ave., Detroit, at whose home she died; also by a sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, a niece, Mrs. Fannie L. Waters, and a grandniece, Dorothy, all three of San Francisco; also by another niece, Mrs. Ella Brown Staley of Schenevus, N. Y., and a nephew, George W. Brown of Brooklyn, N. Y. Mrs. Ferrey at one time had four brothers, all veterans of the Civil War. Her husband was captain of the Third New York Cavalry in the great sectional conflict.

Mrs. Ferrey was buried at her birthplace, Schenevus, N. Y.

Dear Editor,

I AM inclosing to you a portrait of Gen. Lewis Cass showing him as a younger man than most of the familiar portraits. I have a suspicion that this was painted about the year 1848 when Cass was a candidate for president. Of course I may be wrong. There is another and a very crude portrait that was used for publicity purposes during 1848, but this is really good.

The Campau family—now nearly extinct about Detroit, in the male line, have a tradition that this was painted for Joseph Campau, but I think that is a mistaken notion for the picture from which this photo was taken has all the appearances of a lithographic reproduction. The vest is a gaudy buff and the coat is dark blue. This style, with nankeen trousers was the sort of "Scenery" affected by statesmen of the Webster, Clay, Cass period. The old saddlebag, ear-trimming type of shirt collar was giving place to a more comfortable turn-down and the smothering, sweltering stock was giving place to a plain tie of black silk, still quite voluminous,

going twice around the neck before it was tied in a bow. (reminds me of the description of the mouth of one of my boy friends of 60 years ago which was described as "going twice around his head and then being tucked under at the ends".)

James O. Lewis painted a portrait of Cass in 1831 when he was about to enter Jackson's cabinet, but this is of middle-period sort. It was owned in succession by Joseph Campau, then by his son, Daniel Joseph, then by his grandson, Daniel J. junior. The latter gave it to his attorney Howard F. Cline, along with other family relics—including an ancient cross-bow said to have been carried by a yeoman at Runnymede. Cass was born in 1786 and so must have been about 62 years of age in 1848. His features were always heavy and his expression rather solemn. Seems to reveal little sense of humor.

There is a steel engraved portrait by J. O. Lewis used as a frontispiece in Mrs. E. M. Sheldon's *Early History of Michigan*, 1856. Another appears in W. L. G. Smith's *Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, and still another in Tuttle's *History of Michigan*, 1873. Like Oliver Cromwell, Cass insisted on being pictured "moles and all" and correctly located geographically.

The later portraits are evidently from photos but this was from a painting. Maybe I have already sent you one, but I found an extra among my prints and took a chance that you could find use for it some day.

Sincerely yours,

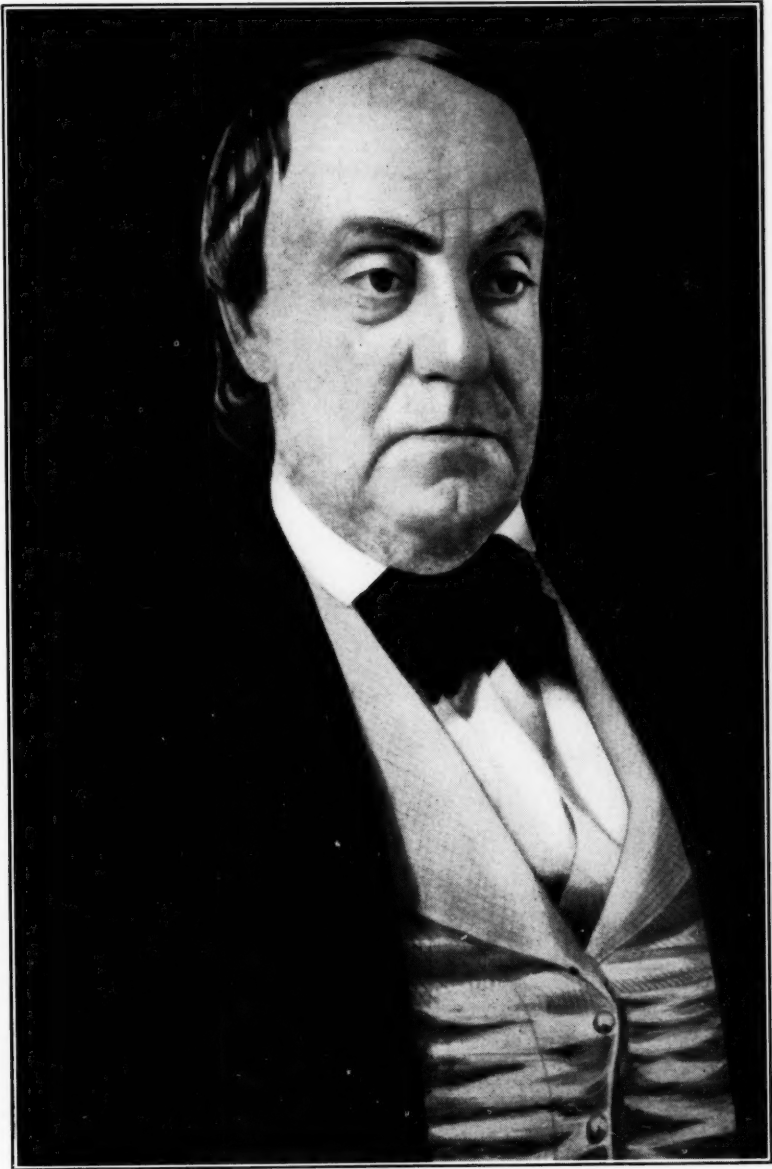
G. B. CATLIN.

Dear Editor,

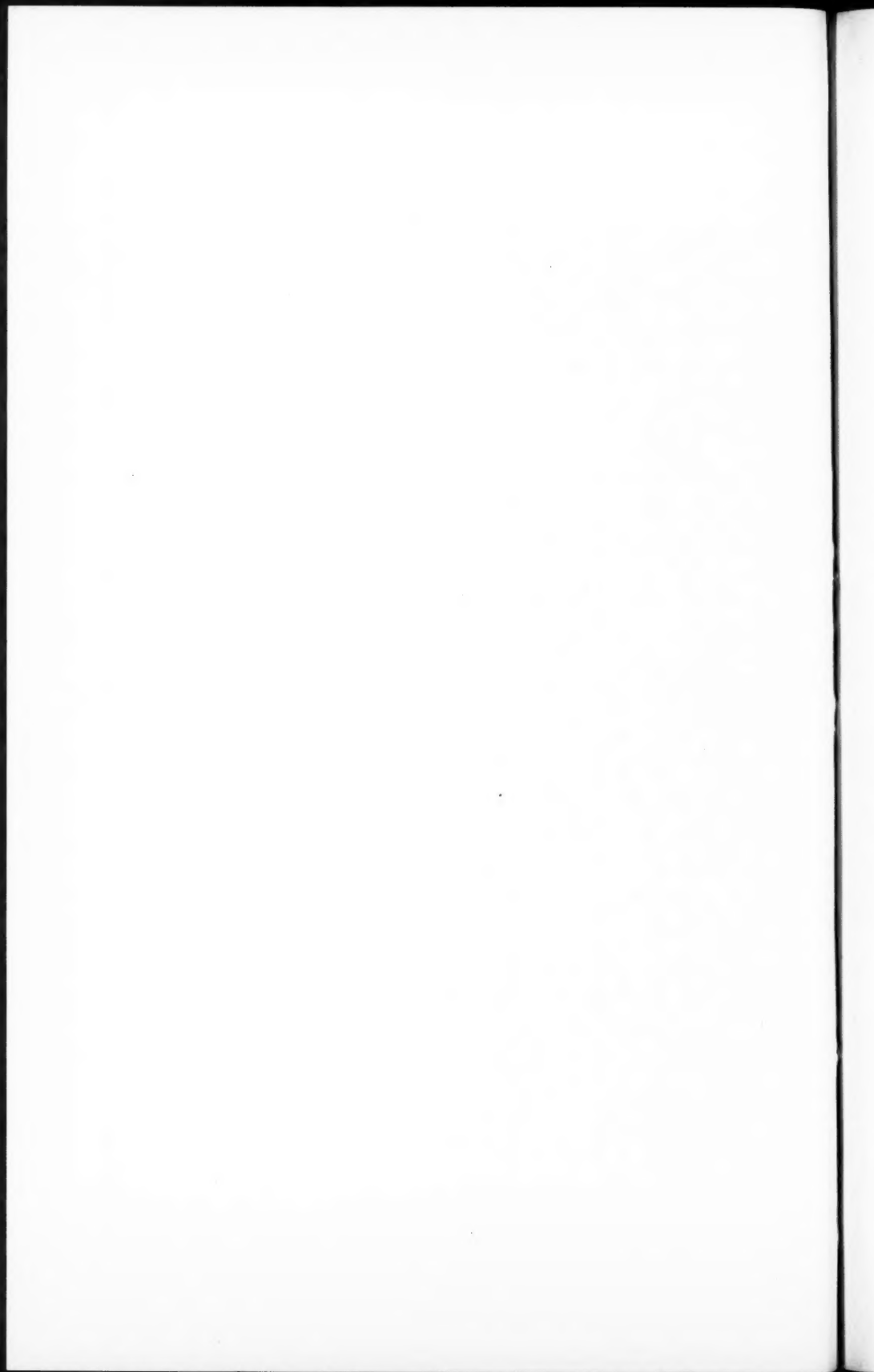
ONCE more the letters of Henry Gladwin, commandant of the fort at Detroit during the siege of Pontiac in 1763, have returned to Michigan in the papers of Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America at the time of the siege.

It is not strange that the letters which Gladwin wrote at the time of Pontiac's war should be found in the papers of Gage,

*See Detroit
mss 1763
-491*



LEWIS CASS



since he was the superior officer to whom Gladwin reported the state of affairs at his post.

It is the plan of the William L. Clements Library to publish the letters of Henry Gladwin together with an accompanying narrative describing the events which were taking place when the letters were being written. This narrative will draw not only upon the known sources of information about the siege, but also upon the contemporary manuscript letters written by Amherst, Gage, Sir William Johnson, Croghan, Wilkins, Price, Bouquet, MacDonald, James Sterling, Robert Rogers, Chevalier, Bradstreet, Moncrieffe, Pauli, Neyon De Villiere, and even by Pontiac himself, many of which were also found among the papers of General Gage.

Further source material on the siege has been found in the reports of the Courts of Enquiry held at Detroit at this period. The Gage Papers contained eleven of these reports, only five of which have been printed by Dr. Charles Moore in his publication of "The Gladwin Manuscripts" in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. 27, 605-680.

Thirty-six Gladwin letters have been located to date. The William L. Clements Library has in its possession twenty-nine of these, in addition to three duplicates. Two of these duplicates are ALsS. Of the thirty-six letters, only four have been printed, three in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* and one in the *Sir William Johnson Papers*. Three letters have been extracted and one cited but not extracted in Parkman: *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* . . . Among the letters from Gladwin in the William L. Clements Library, there are twenty-seven which are ALsS, and five which are contemporary copies.

JUSTICE William W. Potter of the Michigan Supreme Court who is writing a *History of the Michigan Bench and Bar*, has made in the course of his researches a most valuable discovery. The find was made in the storage vault of the Supreme Court. Among other things there came to light the

Mr. T. L. C. C. C.
records

files of the Territorial Supreme Court, from case No. 1 in 1805 to the conclusion of the Territorial period. In these papers there is much historical information governing civil and criminal proceedings, violations of the revenue law, transactions involving the early fur trade, etc. Here, for instance, is the record of a suit in *Campau v. Marsac* involving a contract to trade with the Indians at Saginaw. There is the case (1807) against the trader Burnett who operated a post at St. Joseph in what is now Berrien County. Several papers involve fur trading operations of John Jacob Astor.

Besides these there are early state reports. From the organization of the State in 1835 up to Jan. 1, 1858, Michigan had the circuit system, wherein the judges of the Supreme Court presided on the circuit and the Supreme Court convened not only at the Capitol but in the counties. When the independent Supreme Court was established, the records and files of the old Supreme Court held in these various places were required to be delivered to the clerk of the new Supreme Court. These records were transferred and are among the papers brought to light by Justice Potter. Here they have been stored away for a century in boxes in the storage vaults of the Court.

Some years ago Attorney Shelby B. Schurtz of Grand Rapids, while briefing a law case involving certain early meetings of the Regents of the University of Michigan, ran across references to a decision of the Supreme Court of 1841 which held "that the operation of the University Branches in various towns was illegal since, by the contracts with Congress and the Village of Ann Arbor, the University was to be one institution in one place." This reference led Mr. Schurtz into a series of historical researches, which resulted in the conclusion that the University of Michigan was founded in 1817, and the Regents recognized this conclusion by changing the date on the University Seal to 1817 on May 24, 1929. The further discovery was made that our Michigan Supreme Court decisions had not been completely published; they begin with 1 Douglass

in 1843, leaving the Court's opinions unpublished from 1835 to 1843. The Territorial Supreme Court opinions are entirely unpublished from 1805 to 1835.

This set the ball rolling. The 1931 Legislature recognized that Michigan became a State on Nov. 2, 1835 by fixing the date of the 100th Birthday Celebration for 1935 instead of the heretofore commonly accepted 1837 as the birth of statehood. Then a hunt was instituted by Mr. Schurtz for the missing Supreme Court decisions. The history of this research is most interesting, carried forward by the cooperation of several agencies including the Michigan Historical Commission, Justices of the Supreme Court, and Dean Bates of the University of Michigan Law School. Back of them all was the unfailing zeal of Attorney Schurtz, and the historical interest of Justice Potter.

Steps are being taken to have these papers photostated, properly edited, and published.

THE Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of Michigan State College was appropriately observed on June 11.

A bill passed by the Michigan Legislature of 1855, definitely established a state agricultural college, and in June 1855 a legislative committee bought 676½ acres in the townships of Meridian and Lansing for its location. This was the birth of Michigan State college. history
-497

After the erection of College Hall in 1857 and the appointment of a faculty consisting of six members and the admittance of 73 students, the dedication exercises took place May 13 of that same year. It would be curious to note what the founders would think of the College today, but since that is impossible, we can only recreate a little of what it was then. The circular which announced the beginning of the College throws a little light upon that long-gone time.

MANUAL LABOR REQUIRED OF FIRST STUDENTS

Applicants, according to the circular, must have attained the age of fourteen years, and must have acquired a good primary school education. It goes on to tell that a portion of each day must be devoted to manual labor, that the course of study included agriculture, English literature, mathematics, and natural science; and that the two terms of the school year ran from April through October, and December through February.

Then the first catalogue goes on to say: "the terms prescribed to the first class of students received were that they should pass a good examination in the branches embraced in a common school education, viz: arithmetic, geography, grammar, reading, spelling, and penmanship Ample instruction will be given in the natural sciences. . . The course of mathematics will be comprehensive . . . Instruction in ancient and modern language is not included as an object of the institution . . . The farm being almost entirely in a state of nature, a very large amount of the labor of students must at first be bestowed where it will yield little immediate profit."

Quotations from an address by C. J. Monroe, who was present at the dedication and remained a student here until 1860, reveal some of the student life of that early time: "The College . . . consisted of a tract of mainly timber land without an acre fully cleared. A few acres had been slashed down and the logs and brush cleared. On every hand were old stubs and partially burned trees. The fire had scorched the timber next to the clearing, so that . . . you beheld dead and blackened trees which presented a most desolate scene.

"College hall, a dormitory (known as Saints' Rest), and a small brick barn constituted the buildings . . . The roads to the buildings were lined with stumps which had been dug or pulled out and in some cases partially burned.

"The travel to the College was mainly from middle Lansing, via Michigan avenue. This street was usually a mud hole from the hotels to the College particularly in the spring and fall, and was lined with timber."

MIASMA AND AGUE OVERCOME STUDENTS

The address goes on to tell of the work done by the students, which consisted of pulling stumps, driving horses and oxen, shoveling, plowing, and other kindred occupations. In one year, 1858, a disease disagreeably varied the routine of classes. "The plowing and stirring (he writes) of a hundred acres or more of new land with all its decaying vegetation turned loose an immense amount of miasma. The remark often made, that it was thick enough to cut with a case knife had much truth in it. The latter part of August and forepart of September there were 70 out of 100 students unable to attend classes . . . The main consolation the sufferer got was the frequent assurance that it was only the ague and nobody ever died from it."

In this same year fifteen rules of conduct of students were printed. Here are five:

"They are required promptly to attend all chapel exercises, recitations, lectures, and field operations, and to discharge every duty imposed upon them.

"The use of tobacco and other narcotics, being disapproved of under all circumstances, is forbidden in any of the College buildings.

"Card playing, and other games of chance, are wholly prohibited.

"No student will be permitted to interrupt or interfere with the labor of fellow students and other persons employed on the premises, or to visit them while at their labor.

"On Sabbath, students shall attend the public religious services, held at the College, and during hours not necessarily otherwise occupied, shall remain quietly in their rooms, and engage in nothing inconsistent with the proper observance of the day."

CIVIL WAR HINDERED PROGRESS

Salaries of the faculty were \$1,500 for the president and \$1,000 for the professors. The first president, Joseph R. Williams, held office until March, 1859; and the second, acting

president, Louis R. Fisk, until 1862. Due to financial difficulties, the Civil War, the unhealthy location, and non-support, the College made little progress during those years. Some new buildings were erected, the number of students attending was a little increased, and so on, but it was not until the twenty-two years of President T. C. Abbot's administration that the College made its greatest early forward steps. His program, as condensed from his statement of purposes was:

1. To impart a knowledge of science and its application to the arts of life.
2. To afford to its students the privilege of daily manual labor.
3. To prosecute experiments for the promotion of agriculture.
4. The organic law of the College contemplates courses of instruction in the military art, and in the applications of science to the various arts of life.
5. To afford the means of a general education to the farming class.

Student life however went on much the same as in the earlier days of the College. The late A. G. Gulley, '68, in memoirs, says, "The most convenient way to get to Lansing was to walk, hence the students did not visit the city very often . . . Our social duties were neither extensive nor expensive, consisting of an occasional reception by some of the faculty or possibly once a year a visit to the female seminary in North Lansing . . . It was the duty of one student to walk to Lansing each afternoon and carry all mail going to and from the College. For nearly half my course this position was filled by a one-armed veteran of the Civil War. Athletics as such did not exist . . . We had both class and college debating societies that flourished more or less . . . The labor system was a very important part of the institution. We worked regularly three hours each week day."

The schedule of studies included chemistry, algebra, or arithmetic, and English, and the daily program ran from 5:30

a. m., when the rising bell rang, to the ending of a work period at 4:30 p. m. Students lived in the dormitory with the faculty members, as it furnished the only facility for living at all. As for the board, it was provided for by the steward of the College, and the average price at this time was two dollars a week. This board was a matter of grave discussion among the students and even among state newspapers, which took up and argued the question of whether or not tea and coffee should be served, as well as the food values of cornbread, potatoes and pork.

COLLEGE BELL RECEIVED ILL FAVORS

Of course, a sketch of early student customs would not be complete without a mention of the bell, which was perched at the top of a fifteen-foot pole between College Hall and Saint's Rest. This bell was the habitual recipient of many ill favors by the students, since it called them from bed and was consequently unpopular. One winter night it was turned upside down, filled with water, and frozen solid. Other tricks were played upon it and upon other functionaries of the College.—Adapted from *Michigan State College Record*.

AT THE end of a smooth gravel road in the Huron National Forest in northeastern Michigan, two men stopped an automobile and stepped out. The taller man held the right arm of his companion at the elbow. The pair walked from the car toward the spot where a lofty bluff fell sharply away. The blue waters of the Au Sable river lay at the bottom of the bluff.

But the men stopped several paces away from the edge of the bluff. The taller man opened the gate that stood in their path. Together they walked over to a monument. The taller man lifted his companion to a ledge protruding from the monument's upper part. After being lifted, the man clung to the monument. Slowly he made his way around it, feeling

carefully, putting his hand into crevices, running his fingers across ridges. He climbed to stand on a long rounded object. He again felt carefully, with minute care passing his fingers rapidly here and there across the face of that before him. After a time he called to his companion on the ground. With his help, he leaped from the monument to the sand.

"Beautiful," whispered the man who climbed the monument.

A wetness came into the eyes of the man who accompanied him and a sad expression lay in and behind the wetness in his eyes. There was no wetness or sadness in the eyes of the man who uttered the single word. He was blind.

Days before 4,000 people had come to the same spot to witness the unveiling of the same monument, to listen to speeches extolling the deeds of dead pioneers, to leave finally with a renewed respect for the Michigan lumbermen who had there gained lasting fame in the three nine foot figures of bronze representing the riverman, the landlooker and the woodsman of Michigan's epic lumber era.

Those 4,000 people had come Saturday, July 16 to dedicate formally the \$50,000 bronze memorial to Michigan's pioneer lumbermen that stands on a high bluff of the Au Sable river at the end of the Thompson Trail.

With talk, music and ceremony, they dedicated the remarkable piece of sculptor's art. It was proper that this should be done but that huge molding in bronze lacked a soul until that blind man saw its beauty and its truthful accuracy in his finger tips. The monument was not truly dedicated until the blind man uttered the word that came from the vision in his heart.

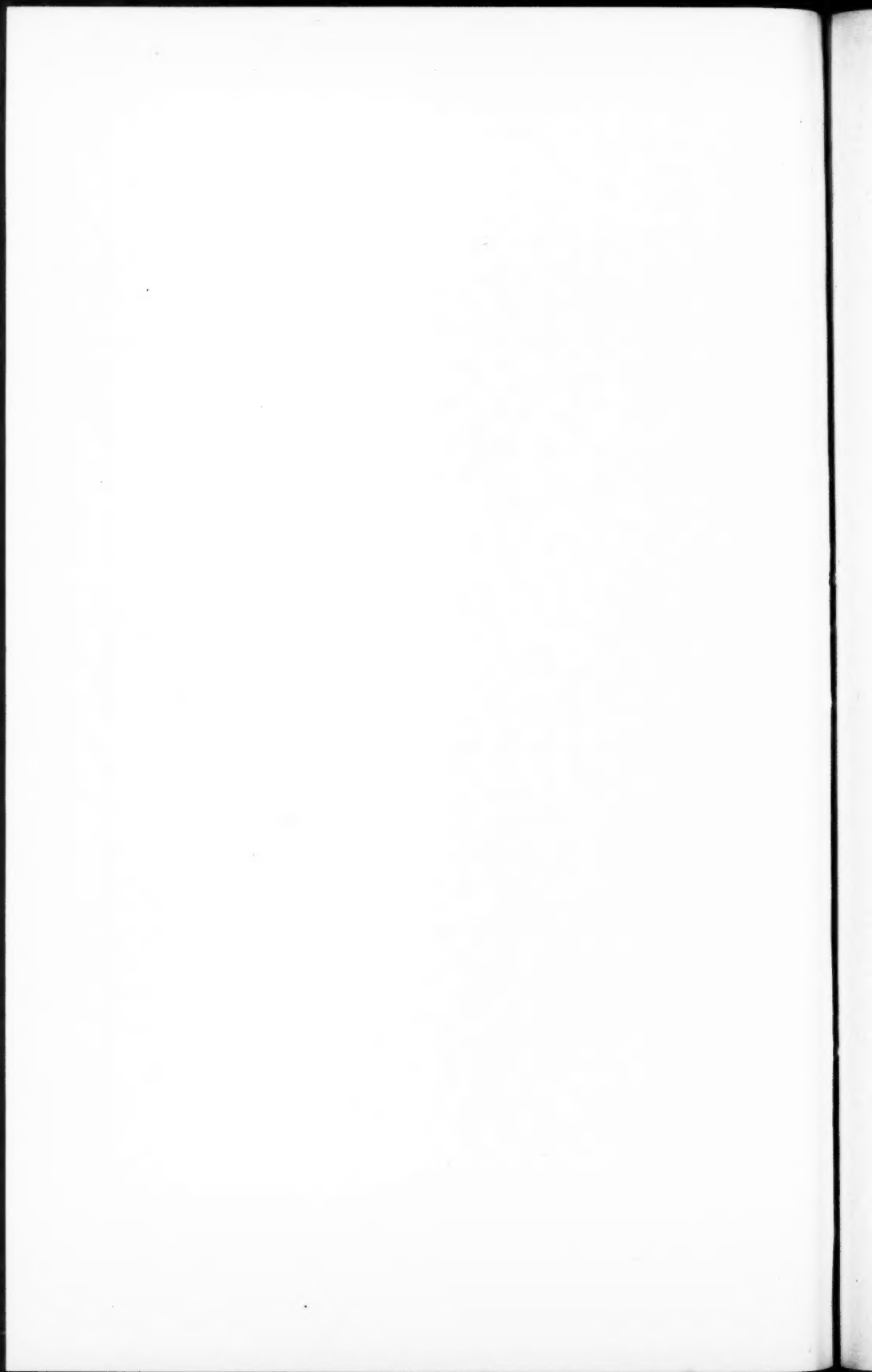
But this is a recounting of the dedication for which 4,000 people gathered beneath a blistering hot sun.

William B. Mershon, Saginaw, who raised the fund of \$50,000 necessary for the memorial's creation and erection made the principal speech. He traced the monument's history. He told how in 1928 the idea for a memorial to Michigan's lumbering days was born in the mind of R. G. Schreck, East Tawas, at

A. L. Mershon



**\$50,000 Bronze Memorial to Michigan's Pioneer Lumbermen on the Au Sable River, twelve miles northwest of East Tawas, Michigan.
Dedicated July 16, 1932.**



that time supervisor of the Huron National Forest, the federal tract of more than half a million acres which includes the monument site. He told how Schreck and T. F. Marston, Bay City, brought the thought to him. He related how then it was hoped that a bronze tablet with suitable inscription would be placed on top of a pile of field stones to commemorate the pioneer lumbermen. He told how the idea expanded until it was decided the memorial should be a monument.

He told of the first meeting at East Tawas, May 24, 1929, when Schreck, Marston and himself gathered with ten others representing old time lumbering families to make plans for the creation of the memorial.

He sketched the remaining history of the monument, how the money was raised from 73 descendants of pioneer lumbermen, how Robert Aitken, New York sculptor, was chosen to mold the memorial, how Schreck and Marston helped him in taking care of the details incident to the completion of the monument and its consequent putting into place.

Mershon then defended the pioneer lumberman often times called a plunderer. He said, "To me it is a great satisfaction to be able to pay tribute to the memory of these men. The lumberman played his part well and it was a necessary part. The forest was created for use, and he provided for its wise use and received little recompense for his efforts. The generation that came after him did reap more substantial benefit. Fortunes were made then, but fortunes were very rare with the pioneer who went into the forest before there were roads while the methods of lumbering were still crude."

At this juncture, the monument which had been covered with canvas during the first part of the dedication program was unveiled by G. K. Fenger, supervisor of the Huron forest.

Standing there with the folds of canvas gathered around its base, the memorial made an impressive sight with its three sturdy figures in bronze silhouetted against the sky. The riverman with his hand gripping a peavy, the landlooker consulting his charts, the woodsman with his axe and cross

cut saw; those three staunch figures, the virile strength of their bodies seeming to show through their rough clothes, appeared almost alive. It seemed that any moment they might step down and join the crowd come to honor them.

The bronze portion of the memorial rests on a 20 ton granite base.

A picket fence in the form of a 30 foot square runs around the monument.

When the memorial had been unveiled and the crowd had recovered from the thrill of seeing the memorial bared, Mr. Mershon with a few simple phrases entrusted the monument and its site to the United States Forest Service.

Major Robert Y. Stuart, chief of the federal forest service, in a brief talk accepted the gift for the government. Major Stuart made it plain that the forest service is appreciative of cooperation in every phase of its work.

Governor Wilber M. Brucker, chief executive of the State whose first hardy citizens were there being honored, in a speech that struck a note of sympathy with his hearers, paid tribute to the memory of the pioneer lumbermen who labored and contributed so greatly to the rapid development of the Middle West.

In his address Gov. Brucker said, "This monument emphasizes the debt the nation owes these pioneer lumbermen. These three figures, created to honor these men, memorialize the spirit of America's advancement in three different ways, exploration, development and transportation.

"The activities of these first lumbermen were vitally necessary. The nation needed them and their product for its up-building."

He also pledged his help to reforestation projects. Pointing out the need for the combining of private and governmental initiative in furthering reforestation, he expressed the hope this cooperation would be forthcoming because of the commercial and recreational need for richly wooded lands in northern Michigan.

Edward Flack, governor of Michigan Kiwanis clubs, followed the Governor on the speaker's platform. Flack said he gained an inspiration from the monument and the dedication, and he stated the Kiwanis clubs of the State are working advocates of reforestation.

Elmer Eicher, chairman of the Conservation Committee of the Flint Junior Chamber of Commerce, who spoke after Mr. Flack, sketched the history of the organization he represents and lauded the lumberjack of a day that is gone.

Interspersed in the program were the readings of poems and the singing of vocal selections appropriate to the occasion.

John W. Blodgett, Grand Rapids lumberman, was chairman of the dedication ceremonies. Judge Herman Dehnke, Harrisville, opened and closed the program.

The dedication ceremonies from beginning to end were simple and direct and they stressed time after time the thought expressed in the inscription on one side of the granite base of the monument: Erected to perpetuate the memory of the pioneer lumbermen of Michigan through whose labors was made possible the development of the prairie states.

The various addresses were sprinkled with many of the 91 names of old time lumbermen which are inscribed on three sides of the granite base. These names are:

Russel A. Alger, Jesse P. Atwood, William A. Atwood, Newell Avery, Sewell Avery, Waldo A. Avery, Newell Barnard, Henry A. Patchelor, Charles A. B'gelow, Robert L. Blacker, Delos A. Blodgett, Jonathan Boyce, and George L. Burrows;

Baker, Fentress and Co., Wellington R. Burt, John Canfield, Peter Cocoran, Henry H. Crapo, Jacob Crummer, Wellington W. Crummer, Dwight Culter, P. M. Danaher, Charles H. Davis, Robert Dollar, Temple E. Dorr, and Charles A. Eddy;

Charles F. Eddy, Charles K. Eddy, J. Franklin Eddy, Selwyn Eddy, Delos Lewis Filer, E. Golden Filer, George N. Fletcher, S. G. M. Gates, Nathaniel Lord Gates, Winfield Scott Gerrish, Frank W. Gilchrist, Charles W. Grant, and Hackley and Hume;

Edmund Hall, Rasmus Hanson, Charles Hebard, Arthur Hill and Co., Clarence M. Hill, Luther Holland, David M. Kneeland, Willis T. Knowlton, H. M. Louns and Sons, Herman Lunden, Thomas R. Lyon, W. and A. McArthur Co., and Newcomb McGraft;

Harvey Mellen, Thomas Merrill, August H. Mershon, Nels Michelson, William W. Mitchell, Thomas Monroe, Simon Jones Murphy, Thomas

Nester, George Willis Pack, Greene Pack, Maurice Quinn, Robert Rayburn, and James A. Remick;

Alfred Richardson, Ezra Richardson, Eleazer Ring, James Roe, John J. Rupp, Amasa Rust, David W. Rust, John F. Rust, George P. Stack, Justus S. Stearns, Henry Stephens II, Charles D. Stimson, and Thomas D. Stimson.

Willard H. Stimson, Charles Stinchfield, Jacob W. Stinchfield, Farnam Chickering Stone, Thomas Ferguson Thompson, Godfrey van Platen, Charles W. Wells, Fred C. Westover, T. Stewart White, David Whitney, Jr., Ammi Williard Wright, Samuel W. Yawkey, and William C. Yawkey.

Drawn together from widely separated points, the crowd that gathered around the monument at the end of that old tote road, the Thompson Trail, included old time river drivers, shanty bosses, descendants of timber barons, governmental conservationists, state officials, Indians in garb and a varied array of other types of men, women and children. Judging from the general disposition of those that came and mingled and stayed to pay tribute in spite of the blazing sun, one and all enjoyed the day.

"Camp 8", a lumberjack feeding camp set beneath the trees a few rods from the monument lent a realistic touch to the activities. The camp and the feed were provided by people of Oscoda and Au Sable, Lake Huron towns that in the days of Michigan timber were roaring lumber settlements. The "Camp 8" of old was one of the most famous of the old lumber camps in the State and its gay and rollicking spirit pervaded its ghost that fed the crowd.

And now while the dedication itself is a matter of history, those three heroic figures stand above the river where once men sweated, swore and died to "get out the logs" to remind all those who may come after that in the period of 1832 to 1895 there lived and labored in this rolling country a race of men carefree, gay, ready to fight, swift to aid, and alive and rich with the spirit bred of working where pines are tall and thick and the sun sifts through to warm the heart of the forest.

(The above account was contributed by Gregory V. Drumm, Bay City.)

TRIBUTE TO THE LUMBER-JACKS

BY HAZEL ADELL JACKSON

(Poem read at the dedication)

IN the '60's and '70's 'twas Michigan's boast
That from Maine to Nebraska, from coast back to coast,
No statelier forest in all our broad land,
No pine tree so perfect, no hemlock so grand
Came the man with a vision, whose keen eye could see
That wealth lay before him in each rugged tree.
There were Blodgetts and Blisses and Prescotts and Packs,
All searching about for the best lumber-jacks.
There were Louds, there were Burts, and Eddys and Gates,
The well-known Mershons, and, hist'ry relates,
That our own Samuel Anker of local repute,
Held his own place among them which none would dispute.
Jack Millen, they said, was a foreman deluxe,
Swift with his praise, but slow with rebukes.
There were Algers and Atwoods and Yawkeys beside,
Who viewed all this grandeur with pard'nable pride.
Then came the Emerys, Locke, Dollar and Smiths,
Names which mean more than mere story-book myths,
And they with their foresight, and capital too,
Began to grow restive for much was to do.
Came the man with the peavy, the skid chain and scale,
Faring forth to his work down this old Thompson Trail.
Fared forth to his work full of bravery and brawn,
Wielding the saw at the first trace of dawn.
And the resonant sound of the tax that he swung,
Re-echoed again in the song that was sung.
And the man with the peavy, the skid chain and scale,
Is the one who brought fame to this old Thompson Trail.

Tote-teamsters at work, sturdy man, husky boy,
Saw the great piles of logs which they must travoy,
No laggard among them, not one who would shirk,
There was glory in labor, there was joy in their work.
Yes, the man with the peavy, the skid chain and scale,
Is the one who brought fame to this old Thompson Trail.

As the great trees felled with a thunderous sound,
They were snaked thru the woods to the old banking-ground.
Adown the great rollways the huge timbers went.
Crashing and tumbling, till, energy spent,

They came to the river, freshet-swollen and swift,
And on the blue waters like jack straws adrift,
In those far-famed Spring-drives they floated down stream,
Fulfilling, surpassing the prospector's dream.
But the man with the peavy, the pike-pole and scale,
Was the one who brought fame to this old Thompson Trail.

The woodsman, the riverman, teamster and jack,
For stout hearts and true courage and strength did not lack.
He cared not for danger, was fearful of naught,
Adventure, yes death, he valiantly sought.
There were log jams to conquer. Great courage it took
To locate the trouble; then with pike-pole and hook,
He dislodged the key-log, then with cunning and skill
He sent the great raft on its way to the mill.
The man with the peavy, the cant hook and scale,
Was the one who brought fame to the old Thompson Trail.

His task is completed, his work long since done.
Fame, honor and glory he rightfully won.
He was true to his calling, his task was his joy,
A picturesque figure, an overgrown boy,
Who searched for adventure and found it at last
In the Wolverine forests now a thing of the past.
His last tree has fallen, his last Spring drive made,
The last call to cook shed, the last score has been paid.
And the man with the peavy, the skid chain and scale
Is the one who brought fame to the old Thompson Trail.

Old friends, the waters are as blue as in the days they smiled
on you.
May the peace of river and of wood, descend on you who found
them good.

IN an old number of *The Northern Budget* (Troy, N. Y., June 20, 1897) is a story of lumber days "interesting as can be" and of special timely interest in view of the recent unveiling of the Lumbermen's Memorial erected on the Au Sable a little way from the Tawasess, one of the outstanding bronze groups in America.

It was in 1841 when William F. Smith started for Chicago from Troy, N. Y., to establish a lumber mill. His father had given him the machinery for a mill and as there were no

railroads to Buffalo at that time, he shipped the machinery by canal and made the trip on a canal boat himself. When he reached Buffalo he put his machinery on a boat and shipped it to Chicago by the lakes, as he expected to locate in Chicago. It took him a week to get from Troy to Buffalo on the canal. From Buffalo to Chicago he stopped at all of the principal places. According to Mr. Smith:

"I was a month on the way from Troy to Chicago. At that time Chicago had 3,000 inhabitants and it was a low, swampy place. I was so homesick that I left there and came back by stage to Detroit. I shipped my machinery back by the lakes. When I left Troy on my way to Buffalo on the canal boat I met a gentleman by the name of Rollin C. Smith. He prevailed on me to stop over at Detroit one day before I went to Chicago. I stopped at Detroit on my way out and went to the store and called on Mr. Smith. At that time in Detroit there was only one carriage and that belonged to General Lewis Cass. I remained there over Sunday and went to church. The people all came to church in a cart filled with straw. They would back the cart up to the church and jump the women out. I was pleased with Detroit and told Mr. Smith if I did not like Chicago I would come back there. I was a week getting back to Detroit from Chicago. I got my machinery there, set it up and got it to going and in eleven days it burned down and I lost it all. Then I found myself with just 25 cents, enough to pay the postage on one letter. The last cent I had in the world then was one penny, which I had in my pocket for a pocket-piece, with a planing machine on it. These were first issued in 1830 as a little token and were issued in Troy by William P. Haskins. He owned the patent right of the planing machine, and used the tokens as an advertisement of his planing mill and plaster mill on River street, where he ground the plaster and sent it all over the country. That penny was all I had in the world. I was under age and a man that I connected myself with at Detroit said to me: 'You are a boy under age and I don't think you can do

anything here, and you better take your machinery and go back home where your friends are. I can't do anything for you.' I had arranged with a Mr. Wilson, who owned the patent on the planing machine for the purchase of the patent right, and I had written him that I had located at Detroit. Just as I had gotten the machines up and ready to start he came to Detroit and came to Mr. Pitt's mill and said to me: 'I am glad to see you here. I am on my way to Chicago now, and I told you I would let you have the patent right very cheap. Have you any money?' I told him no. 'Well, I will take your notes. What do you want to pay for it? I will let you have it for \$600 and take your notes for two, four and six months, or any other way.' I said, 'All right, make out the papers.' Mr. Pitts came around just then and said: 'I wish you would go out and tally that load of lumber for me.' I was quick at that, and then I liked to make myself handy, and when I came back Mr. Pitts was walking down the sidewalk with Mr. Wilson, and I have never seen Mr. Wilson since. Mr. Pitts told me that he had bought the patent right, and I had better go home to my friends. I went to my boarding house crying. The lady I boarded with was Mrs. William Moore, and she was a daughter of Buel, and used to live in Troy near Dr. Beman's church. When she found out I was from Troy she told me not to worry, that I could stay with her and be her boy. I told her I had no money. She said never mind that, she would take care of me. Then I did just what my grandmother Smith had always taught me to do. She used to say: 'Whenever you are in trouble, William; whenever you get in trouble always pray to your Heavenly Father for aid and wisdom, and He will give it to you.'

"I went to bed and I prayed to the good Lord to direct me to some person who would assist me to start again. I got up the next morning and went right down to see Mr. Smith. I was sent there apparently. He had heard of the fire and of my loss. He took me into his private office and said: 'William, I am sorry, because everybody is talking about you in

Detroit. A boy like you who will come out here and bring out that machinery deserves success. Everybody will help you.' I owed Mr. Kendrick about \$400 for fixing up the machinery; it would cost \$500 or \$600 more to rebuild. Mr. Smith called his partner and said: 'Dwight, Smith says so and so! Deacon Smith told me to go and draw on them for all I wanted and pay Mr. Kendrick. I paid off twelve men with \$3 in silver, as everything was done by trade in exchange in those days. My prayers were answered.

"I went to Deacon Kendrick and told him what had been done for me, and he said Deacon Smith was the most honest man in Detroit. I went to work and paid off my debt and got my machines up and got started again, and just as soon as I got started Mr. Pitts served notice and injunction on me to stop running the machines. There I was. I had earned, I guess, about \$300 before he stopped me. In thirty days' time I had to answer and put in security for \$1,000 damages. I had already exhausted Smith & Dwight and I owed them about \$1,200, so I commenced praying again, not knowing what in the world to do. I went up to the mill and was shaving lumber, and H. H. LeRoy, a gentleman I had met and became acquainted with, came in and said: 'Smith, I see that Mr. Pitts is going to stop you,' and I told him the story. Said he: 'There is a man right across here who sits across the aisle from Pitts at the Rev. Dr. Duffield's church. Will you come over and tell him about this?' I went over and told him all about it and he said: 'Yes, I have heard of Mr. Pitts before, and you have got to put up \$1,000 security tomorrow. Have you got it?' I said no. 'What are you going to do?' I said: 'I don't know what I shall do, but I am doing just what my grandmother told me to do.' He wanted to know what it was, and when I told him he said: 'Well, my dear boy, I am glad you have such confidence and trust in the Heavenly Father.'

"He asked me if I wasn't busy just then if I would go down to the bank with him. I went down and he left me out in front with the horse. When he came out he said he wanted to go

see Colonel J. H. Winder, circuit clerk of the United States Court. This was in 1842, and he is still living in Detroit and is 94 years of age. We went to call on Colonel Winder, and Mr. Sheely—that is the man's name—told him to make out the papers and he signed them and there was the \$1,000 all right.

"I went to work and made money so fast I didn't know what to do with it. I got \$7.50 for 1,000 feet of planing that had always been done by hand. In six months I had my debt all paid off, but in the meantime Mr. Walker, the attorney general, had been sent for to go to Washington by General Cass in 1842. He came and told me he was going and that he had read in the papers a good deal about the Woodworth patent planing machine suit that was on and said he would let me know how it was decided. He went to Washington and while there the suit was decided in favor of the patentee, Wilson. William H. Seward was engaged in that patent suit for eighteen days and it was decided in Wilson's name, so Pitts owning all the patent bought from Wilson, could stop me. Mr. Walker got the papers and sent a courier through on purpose. It took them 20 to 25 days to come from Washington to Detroit. He sent a courier all the way through with the papers, telling me the suit was decided against me and I better make the best terms I possibly could. I went to Mr. Pitt's mill and bought some lumber as a blind, and as I was leaving, Mr. Pitts said: 'Smith, there is no use of you and I going on in this way, we might as well be good friends. I will sell you half the right in the machines.' 'Well,' I said, 'I think Wilson will get beat in his suit, then I won't have to pay a cent.' He said he would sell me half for \$400, and he only paid \$600 for the whole. 'No,' I said, 'I don't want it.' 'Now,' said he, 'I want to use some groceries and dry goods and you give me an order on the store so I can pay my men and it will be just as good as money. Give me an order on Smith and Dwight.' I said 'No,' and I went away. The next time I went up he wanted me to see what he had for me, and that night he had written out an agreement that I was to have half of the territory

(Detroit and Wayne counties) and I was to pay \$400, which I accepted. Two days after he sent for me and said: 'There are some letters and papers and documents down in the post-office, and there is \$2 postage on them, and I haven't the money.' He hadn't \$2 in specie. He thought it was something in relation to the lawsuit, and as I was as much interested in it as he if I could raise the money, to go down and take them out. I told him there was no object for me to raise the money. I didn't want them at all, because I had the papers sent to me by H. M. Walker, and I had had these papers ever since I came up to buy that lumber of him.

"I had become acquainted with some French girls, who lived on a farm on the Detroit river that I admired very much and that I wanted to buy. Then I come to know the boys and so the old people. I rented the river portion of the farm. The French farms of Detroit ran from the river back three miles, so they could get wood from the back and water and fish from the front. Before anyone knew what I was doing I had rented it for fifteen years for \$80 per year and I gave them lumber to build their house when I moved into the old one. The moment I closed that bargain everybody in Detroit heard of it and I had made a fortune at one turn. I immediately commenced to build the mill and Smith & Dwight, the men who had helped me all along, let me have all the money or goods that I wanted. I completed my mill in six months and got it started. It cost me \$7,500. I got the first block of walnut in 1842, and sawed it into lumber and made the first shipment of black walnut pine lumber ever made from Detroit to Troy and Albany. This was in 1843.

"When I reached Detroit, there were many Indians in La-peer county, near by. They were all friendly of course, but I had heard much about the Indians and I tell you that they made my hair stand up when they came around me with their war paint and feathers. I used the Indians to pilot me out into the forest to select timber. They knew where the finest timber in the country was and they were experts in their line."

In 1843 William F. Smith took Smith Dwight, the men who had assisted him in the past, into copartnership and for ten years this firm was one of the most prosperous in that section of the country. The newspapers published in the West frequently printed long and glowing accounts of the enterprise and success of this firm. The firm had mills and lumber yards in nine different places including Detroit, Sandusky, Toledo, Cincinnati, Dayton, Chicago and other places. They owned a banking house in Detroit. One paper stated that the firm sawed annually more than 8,000,000 feet of lumber and 1,800,000 lath in their one mill in Detroit. They had another mill at New Baltimore which turned out about the same amount of material. They stocked their mills from timber from their own lands, they owning 30,000 acres or more in St. Clair County. They were the pioneers in the lumber business in the interior of Ohio and established a yard at Cincinnati under the personal supervision of William F. Smith. He met with great opposition at first, people scouting the idea of buying lumber from Michigan. It was not long, however, before the country was opened up by canals and railroads and the demand for Michigan lumber increased so that one year the firm was obliged to purchase 25,000,000 feet of lumber, 6,000,000 shingles and several millions of lath in addition to their own sawing to supply the demands. They gave employment to twenty vessels on the lakes and their freight bills amounted to more than \$40,000 a year.

Mr. Smith was known as the "lumber king" of the West. It was he who first built what were called "prairie cottages." They were houses which were designed and framed in the factory and sent to the farms of the citizens and set up quickly. If a person came to the office in the morning and left an order for a cottage, he could be living in it the next day. This enterprise assumed gigantic proportions. He had this factory in Chicago and did an immense business. These buildings were cheap and were a great convenience for the residents of the plains.

Mr. Smith numbered among his acquaintances in Michigan such men as Lewis Cass, Zachariah Chandler and Gov. H. P. Baldwin. In early life Mr. Smith had his romance as well as trials and disappointments. On one of his visits to Cincinnati from Detroit he stopped at Lafayette, Ind., to get dinner. There he met Lizzie O. Otis, daughter of the Hon. William H. Otis, one of the direct descendants of James Otis, orator and American patriot of Boston, who was born in 1725 and died in 1783, and of Harrison Gray Otis, one of the first mayors of Boston. The young lady was one of the most accomplished and beautiful of the city, and when Mr. Smith started on his journey, she gave him a pretty rose. When he reached his home he sent her a magnificent rose bush accompanied by a neat note expressing the hope that she might live and blossom as pure and sweet as the rose and that some day he might come and claim a rose from the bush. Time passed and they continued their correspondence and became acquainted and an engagement followed. Then came a terrible misfortune to Mr. Smith, the loss of his eyes and property, and he at once desired to release the girl of his choice from the engagement. She said she would take him as he was and would prove her love. The incident of the rose became a part of Mr. Smith's business life, for on his bank checks he had engraved the picture of a handsome woman holding a bouquet of roses. Mr. Smith and Miss Otis were married in 1855. Their only son, C. O. Smith, long held a responsible position with the American Express Company in New York, as manager of the money order department of the eastern division.

MINNESOTA has been celebrating the centennial of the discovery of Lake Itasca as the headwaters of the Mississippi and honoring the discoverer, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, early resident of Detroit, Michigan.

At Itasca State Park, a beautiful 40,000-acre tract surrounding Lake Itasca, historical pageants were prepared to depict the expedition that Schoolcraft led from Sault Ste. Marie,

(his)
exploration

across Lake Superior and northern Minnesota to the lake the Chippewa Indians called Omushkos (the Elk).

Schoolcraft, in his explorations of the Mississippi, followed in the footsteps of De Vaca and De Soto, the Spaniards; Marquette, Joliet, La Salle, Hennepin, La Hontan and Charlevoix, the Frenchmen, and Carver, the Englishman. In 1820, Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, accompanied by the youthful Schoolcraft, explored the northern lake region and declared Cass Lake the source.

In 1822, Schoolcraft was named Indian agent for the frontier, with headquarters at the Soo and at Mackinac. In 1828, he was elected to the Michigan Territorial Legislature. In 1831, commissioned to seek peace between the Sioux and the Chippewas, he crossed the lead mine country of southwestern Wisconsin.

On June 7, 1832, Schoolcraft, with a military escort, a botanist and a missionary, started from the Soo on the trip that was to reveal Itasca to the world. By canoe, the expedition skirted the southern shore of Lake Superior to the site of Superior, Wis., at the mouth of the St. Louis River. From there they went to Sandy Lake, 500 miles above St. Anthony's Falls, on the Mississippi. Here he summoned a general council of the Indian tribes for July 20, then plunged northward.

At Cass Lake the expedition was cut to 16 members. Ozawindib, the Chippewa chief, was taken as guide. There were five canoes. Paddling northward on the rapidly narrowing Mississippi, Schoolcraft named new lakes—Lake Andrusia, for Andrew Jackson—Queen Anne's Lake, Washington Irving's Lake, Marquette, La Salle, Plantagenet. Ducks were killed for food and one of the Indians shot a deer.

The morning of July 13 the paddlers hurried through Perch Lake to a small stream to the South, then packed the canoes for the last portage from the head of the one branch of the Mississippi to what Ozawindib insisted was the true source. The explorers trudged over the swampy land, sometimes knee deep in water, through thickets and morasses strewn with

fallen logs and finally to high ground. There were 13 onway-bees, or rests. At one stop the party gorged on wild strawberries.

Four hours passed. Ozawindib called back that the last elevation was ahead. Schoolcraft, eager, passed him, hurried up the hill and a moment later "got the first glimpse of the glittering nymph we had been pursuing. Cradled among the hills, the lake spread out—a scene of no common picturesqueness and rural beauty."

Then the canoes headed for the outlet and passed down the narrow Mississippi, bearing Schoolcraft away, never to return.

The explorer died in Washington on Dec. 10, 1864.—Adapted from *Detroit Free Press*.

MR. NORMAN A. WOOD of the University of Michigan Museums kindly responds to our request for information as to the presence of the American Buffalo in early Michigan. He says:

This species was very abundant in northern Ohio and Indiana late in the 17th Century and straggled into southern Michigan (doubtless in summer) but has been extinct for more than a century in this State. I have searched all of the early literature for records and have one record by word of mouth from one of the early residents of Michigan. The Honorable L. D. Watkins of Manchester, Washtenaw County, told me that about 1837 he found the remains of several Bison in Twp. 4 S. R. 2 E, Sec. 22, Norvell, Jackson Co., and picked up three weathered skulls, two of which were given to Hillsdale College, where they were afterward destroyed by fire; the other skull he gave to Albion College. These skulls he said had lost the outer shell of the horn and had doubtless lain many years before he picked them up. Years ago I tried to locate the Albion College skull but no one at the College could certainly identify it.

I find in early literature many records of the occurrence of

the Bison in southern Michigan and some of these I will mention.

Mrs. M. Shelden (1856) in her *Early History of Michigan*, page 45, says, "Bancroft gives a beautiful description of Detroit and its surroundings in 1763. 'The Forests were natural parks stocked with Buffaloes, Deer, and Wild Turkeys.'"

"In *General History of the State of Michigan* (1873) page 121, Charles Richard Tuttle says, "Herds of Buffalo wandered over the Prairie."

Blois in 1838, in speaking of the early settlement of Fort Pontchartrain (Detroit) in 1701 says, "Game was abundant and herds of Buffalo ranged the prairies and valley of the Detroit in immense herds."

In *Oak Openings* James Fenimore Cooper tells of the Bison that once roamed the Oak Openings or Prairies near Prairie Ronde (Cass Co.).

Charlevoix in his *Journal* (1761), Vol. 2, p. 184 (Fort of the River St. Joseph, Sept. 17, 1721), says, "I departed yesterday and sailed up that River about 6 leagues. I went ashore in the night, and walked a league and quarter further, first along the river side, and afterwards across a field in an immense meadow entirely covered with copses of wood, which produce a fine effect. It is called the meadow of the Buffaloes herd, because it is said a herd of that animal of an immense size was once found there."

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. 35, pp. 703-4: "While roaming over the hills immediately north of Pentwater village, a gentleman who arrived from Chicago on the Frontenac excursion Saturday discovered what is supposed to be an Indian mound containing many bones of prehistoric animals. The find was made on Monday shortly before the Frontenac left for Chicago, and owing to the limited time only a few specimens were gathered. He however secured the bones of a head, in good state of preservation, supposed to be that of a Michigan buffalo, also some leg bones of much larger animals which he took to Chicago with him.

Geologists know that Michigan was the home of the buffalo, and the mastodon is supposed to have roamed over this region. Specimens are exceedingly rare, however, and these bones will probably prove a valuable contribution to science. In Vol. 32, p. 358, Charles S. Wheeler says, "The early mammals numbered about 50 species. They were the bison or buffalo, caribou, elk, [etc.]" Vol. 28, pp. 179-180, L. H. Beason says, "Buffaloes were hunted successfully in the country lying along the Kankakee River, and on the portions of that prairie that extends into Berrien County, Michigan."

In *Michigan, its History, Geography and Resources*, page 31, B. A. Hinsdale gives a list of 17 mammals but does not mention the buffalo. Percy Selous, a noted naturalist of Greenville, Michigan, says, "There are spots in Michigan still called 'Buffalo Wallows.'"

James H. Lanman (1843) *History of Michigan*, pages 26-27, says, "Herds of buffalo roamed over the Prairie upon the borders of Lake Erie as late as 1720."

Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan* (1884), p. 11, says, "So numerous and large indeed were the wild bisons, that the making of garments from their wool was seriously considered."

Occasional papers of the Museum of Zoology, University of Michigan, notes on the mammals of Berrien County, Michigan, under date July 10, 1922: "Am. Bison, the basal portion of a small skull with horn cores attached was dug up at Birchwood Beach, Berrien Co. by Wells Sizer about 1897." The writer saw and identified this specimen which was presented to the Museum of Zoology by Mr. Sizer.

In the Archaeological Collection at Ann Arbor there is a shoulder blade of a bison that was dug up at Detroit. The edges of the outer end have been rounded off to make a "tool" or implement for digging. Doubtless this was done by some Indian.

Cadillac, in his report to the London Co., from Fort Pontchartrain, Detroit, in the early 17th century says, "If you de-

sire to purchase more skins of Buffalo you will have to pay the Indians more than \$1.00 apiece, as they now have to bring them from along the River Raisin some distance from Detroit."

The scarcity of remains of this species in Michigan I believe to be due to the fact that bison fed, and roamed, over the small prairies and "Oak Openings" and avoided the swamps and borders of ponds where they might be mired in the soft ground and their bones preserved. Those killed were on high ground where fire and the elements in time destroyed the bones.

THOMAS M. COOLEY, one of the "Big Four" in the history of Michigan's bench and bar, belongs not alone to Michigan but to the Nation and to the world in the field of law and jurisprudence. From 1859 to his death in 1898 he was Professor of Law at the University of Michigan. He was Chief Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court 1864-1885. He framed the law creating the Interstate Commerce Commission and was the Commission's first Chairman. His great work which is best known by its abbreviated title *Constitutional Limitations*, is familiar to every student of American government. It is highly appropriate that the University of Michigan has assumed the task of assembling a worthy collection of Colleyana to be used for an adequate biography. For this purpose President Ruthven has appointed the following committee: Prof. John S. Worley, Chairman; Dr. Randolph G. Adams, Prof. Robert Cooley Angell, Forest H. Sweet, and T. Hawley Tapping. The Committee would be glad to have information of any letters, books, manuscripts or papers relating in any way to Judge Cooley which may be in the possession of Michigan people or of any person or library known to them.

WITH a view to a commemorative publication, Mrs. Claude H. Van Tyne of 1942 Cambridge Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan, desires to obtain from correspondents of her husband, by way of loan, any letters of his which they may possess. Such letters will be promptly copied and returned.

MEMBERS OF THE MICHIGAN STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OUTSIDE OF STATE ADDED IN 1931

Bardon, Dr. Richard, Duluth, Minn.
Brady, Mr. Arthur W., Anderson, Indiana
Broek, Rev. John Y., Plainfield, N. J.
Greenly, Mr. Albert H., New York City, N. Y.
Gronlun, Mr. Hubert K., Elgin, Ill.
Hinman, Mrs. D. A., Sandwich, Ill.
McGregor, Mr. Tracy W., Washington, D. C.
Pender, Mr. James S., Chicago, Ill.
Popkins, Mr. Morris E., New Orleans, La.
Riddell, Hon. Wm. Renwick, Toronto, Canada.
Robinson, Mr. F. J., Aurora, Canada.
Schreffler, Mrs. Robert B., Milford, Conn.
Stowell, Mrs. Charles H., Lowell, Mass.
Townsend, Mr. John Wilson, Lexington, Ky.
Wright, Mr. Dana M., St. John, North Dakota

AMONG THE BOOKS

IN SEARCH OF AMERICA. By Lucy Lockwood Hazard. T. Y. Crowell Co., N. Y., 1930, pp. 586. Price \$3.75.

In the July number of the Magazine for 1927 we reviewed Miss Hazard's *The Frontier in American Literature*. In that volume she emphasized the mental and spiritual as being characteristic of the new interest in the frontier. This viewpoint is carried into her new volume *In Search of America*.

The title of the volume is taken from a quotation from Waldo Frank's *Our America*: "We all go forth to seek America. And in the seeking we create her. In the quality of our search shall be the nature of the America that we create." The questing spirit of our moderns is the unifying theme of these selections from American writers. The opening sections illustrate new moods in biography and history. A third section is devoted to our recent fad of the primitive, the new interest in American folk lore such as Indian legends, Negro spirituals, lumberjack ballads, and bandit sagas. The local color movement is studied through typical stories dealing with various parts of the country. The closing section gives appraisals of American culture from the points of view both of condenscending foreigners and of the new group of American critics who voice an idealistic faith in the spirit of America.

Some years ago Mr. Van Wyck Brooks wrote a book called *America's Coming of Age*. In 1926 André Siegfried wrote a book called *America Comes of Age*. These books suggest an analogy between the present state of America and the psychology of a person that has just attained his majority. One of the symptoms of that state is self-consciousness. One of the ways therefore in which to seek America is in the critical re-examination of her history.

From history we easily slide over a shadow line in the land of legend, and from this literature of the people we may pass to the novel and the short story, which catch the color of regions and the spirit of townsfolk. Another manifestation of the psychology of coming of age is dissatisfaction. Here we meet the critics, and these biographers of satirical vein who delight in removing the statue from the pedestal, or at least in lifting the toga to show us the feet of clay. In these ways this book goes forth to seek America. Out of the broken images of our old gods, Puritanism, Industrialism, the author sees emerging a new idealism. It is this constructive attitude of America's "Coming of Age" which gives to this volume significance.

The book is intended primarily for college students. It aims to correlate the practice of English composition with a study of American

life. Each of the five sections is prefaced by a brief discussion of the type of writing represented, and is followed by a list of material along related lines for further reading.

The author is a New Englander by birth but was educated at the University of California, from which she holds the degrees of M. A. and Ph.D. She is Professor of the English Language and Literature at Mills College, the leading woman's college in the West.

WORLD POLITICS IN MODERN CIVILIZATION. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Professor of Historical Sociology, Smith College. Knopf, N. Y., 1930, pp. xxii 608 xliii. Price \$5.50.

This volume is "history with a purpose," as is partially indicated by its subtitle, "The Contributions of Nationalism, Capitalism, Imperialism and Militarism to Human Culture and International Anarchy."

Christian idealists will find this volume much to their liking. The impartial historian will admit that it contains much valuable material and many keen observations, but will doubtless maintain that Dr. Barnes' zeal for liberalism has led him into extreme positions that may not be tenable. Nevertheless his theories are arresting and challenging and he deserves admiration for the courage with which he has handled thorny issues. It is unquestionably one of the most provocative surveys of recent times.

Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University is willing to say of this work: "I know of no better way for an intelligent reader to understand the moving forces in modern international life, and their fundamental bearing upon the significant problems of human destiny, than by becoming acquainted with this book."

LIFE IN COLLEGE. By Christian Gauss, Dean of the College, Princeton University. Scribner, N. Y., 1930, pp. 272. Price \$2.50.

Characteristic of the spirit of this volume is its dedication: Professor Gauss says, "In the practice of an unhappy profession I have sometimes been compelled to discipline young men at Princeton University for offenses against a moral and social code not always entirely identical with their own. One central fact saved this experience from being hopelessly distressing. In nearly every case, the frankness, honesty, generosity and sportsmanship of these undergraduate 'male-factors' was such as to make me conceive a high opinion of mankind. To them this volume, the result of their experience and mine, is hereby dedicated in grateful recognition."

Students will recognize in this volume the same generous spirit and sense of humor they found in the author's *Through College on Nothing*

a Year. As an introduction of the undergraduate to himself, to his friends, and especially to his parents back home, these pages are a marked success. There is here no discussion of certain topics dear to the pedagogue, a "stimulating intellectual fellowship", "an ideal intellectual environment," problems of academic management, arrangement of curriculum, proper teaching and the like. The author addresses the ordinary reader who may be curious about what actually goes on in colleges.

The book offers no cure for "educational ills." The American college may be facing a "crisis," says the author, but it has always been doing that. Parents at home will continue to be older than their sons on the campus and hence will continue to misunderstand them. "Flaming youth" has for long centuries been a perennial problem, and the author only suggests that "occasionally to meditate upon our sins is a wise course even for those of us who are older than college sophomores."

"The present volume is, in a sense, such a meditation. It is divided, like Gaul, in partes tres, "Getting the Freshman Started," "College Problems," and "Problems of Parents." It ends with a Conclusion entitled "An Examination for Parents."

For Michigan folks this volume will be of special interest, in that Professor Gauss is a native of the State, born in Ann Arbor in 1878, graduating from the University of Michigan with the class of 1898, (A. M. '99) and holding from 1899 to 1901 the position of Instructor in Romance Languages.

THE AMERICAN ROAD TO CULTURE. By George S. Counts. The John Day Co., N. Y., 1930, pp. 194. Price \$2.50.

A provocative critique of American education. The central question to which this book addresses itself is, How are the minds of the rising generation being shaped by that industrial civilization which is sweeping America? Dr. Jesse Newton ventures to say, "This book will startle the complacent, shock the smug, provoke discussion on every hand, and be most refreshing to those who are deeply concerned that education be made socially more effective. It is one of the five or six most important books on education that have appeared in America in the twentieth century."

Dr. Counts is the author of several previously published volumes on educational subjects, written during his years of service as Professor of Education at Yale University, the University of Chicago, and as Associate Director of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University.

COLD: THE RECORD OF AN ANTARCTIC SLEDGE JOURNEY. By Laurence McKinley Gould, Second in Command, Byrd Antarctic Expedition. Brewer, Warren and Putnam, New York, 1931, pp. 275. Price \$3.50.

With the coming of fall when one begins to plan for the long evenings, scarcely a book could be more appropriate to head the reading list than this record of an Antarctic sledge journey. Here is adventure aplenty. To lose oneself in the pages of this absorbing narrative is to become in imagination a member of the party that set out one morning from the base at Little America on that long trek to the Queen Maud Mountains and back again. Much of that travelling was across fields of ice and snow criss-crossed with dangerous crevasses. There were unexpected blizzards and unexpected delays, there were disappointments and hardships. And withal there was warm human comradeship and a fund of good humor and abiding cheerfulness. The anecdotes related are among the most charming portions of the book. The dramatic story of the discovery of the Amundsen Cairn makes as thrilling a climax after pages of suspense as can be found in any tale of adventure.

The reader interested in learning of the discoveries made on that trip will find here an intensely interesting non-technical presentation of the value of the geological findings and of their relation to the great body of scientific facts already accumulated. The research activities of Dr. Gould and his assistants were accounted by Admiral Byrd himself as the most important achievement of his Expedition.

There is something inspiring in the closing words of the book, answering the many queries of Why, What for? What is the practical use of it all? After analysing the results of the Expedition the author closes with these words:

"Dr. Finley has suggested the simplest and therefore perhaps the most adequate answer to the question Why?, when he tells of the ambitions of the English schoolmaster Leigh-Mallory. This Englishman had once attempted to climb Mt. Everest and had failed and was back in England making preparations for a second attempt, an attempt on which he lost his life, and when asked why he left his friends and the comfort of all that he had at home just to try to reach the summit of this, the highest mountain in the world, replied: 'Because it is there.'

And because the Antarctic is there, I want to go back. I want to find out where the Queen Maud Mountains end; I want to know more about the recorded writing on the rock pages of Antarctic geological history—more about its past climates and the life that has thrived in this now 'lifeless continent'—more about the ancestors of that fascinating and restless little bundle of curiosity, the Adelie penguin

and his great cousin the Emperor. And I had rather go back to the Antarctic and find a fossil marsupial than three gold mines!"

This volume is beautifully printed and bound and contains 47 illustrations from photographs taken by Dr. Gould. There are also two maps of the region under discussion and two reproductions in color of paintings by David Paige,—one showing the moon as seen across the Bay of Whales, the other showing the Midnight Sun above the ice fields of the Antarctic.

THE YOUTH OF ERASMUS. By Albert Hyma. Published by the University of Michigan Press, as Vol. X of the University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, 1931, pp. xii+350. Price \$3.

EUROPE FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO 1815. By Albert Hyma. F. S. Crofts Co., N. Y., 1931, pp. xiv+586. Price \$3.75.

In *The Youth of Erasmus* Dr. Hyma deals with the development of perhaps the greatest mind of one of the most significant periods of world history. In particular, the early years of the man Erasmus have been obscure. Erasmus himself purposely made them so. The first twenty years of his life were a bitter memory to him. Illegitimate birth, unhappy childhood, sordid companionship, disappointment with his monastic life, frequent illness, made him want to bury it, and the essential information about it. It is now known through Dr. Hyma's researches that to do this Erasmus deliberately misrepresented some of the facts, misleading to his biographers. In the present volume the author portrays conditions in Erasmus' early environment as plainly as the sources reveal.

There is inspiration in the triumph of Erasmus over what at the best were severe handicaps. In the presence of this great mind even his contemporaries felt intuitively that they stood in the presence of a mental giant, as some of them confess. This great genius is better understood in the light of this volume, for as the author shows, the youth of Erasmus, rightly interpreted, explains much in his later life that has hitherto defied analysis.

A very great service of the volume is to place in better reputation the monastic order known as the Brethren of the Common Life, with whom Erasmus passed much of his youth, and to whose humanely liberalistic influence Erasmus undoubtedly owed more than he was willing to acknowledge.

Europe From the Renaissance to 1815 is the latest printed treatment of this entire field. This book would appear to be an outgrowth of Dr. Hyma's college textbook, *A Short History of Europe, 1500-1815*.

It begins considerably earlier and introduces many new sections, and brings new material to many of the old sections.

Dr. Hyma is Professor of History at the University of Michigan.

PURITAN'S PROGRESS. By Arthur Train. Scribner, N. Y., 1931, pp. 477. Price \$3.50.

The quaintness, humor and wit of this volume are foreshadowed in the subtitle, "An informal account of certain Puritans and their descendants from the American Revolution to the present time, their manners and customs, their virtues and vices; together with some possibly forgotten episodes in the development of American social and economic life during the last one hundred and fifty years."

In this book a skilled novelist and story writer, using his family tree as a framework, traces the evolution of the Puritan mind from colonial days to the present. Incidentally he gives fascets of almost every phase of a century and a half of life in the United States. Withal there is a great variety of spicey and picturesque illustrative material about the actual everyday habits, beliefs, superstitions, recreations and ambitions in the social progress of plain Americans under the shadow of a supposedly stern tradition.

But were the Puritan's so stern! This is the question one asks as he lays down this most engaging book.

AMERICA'S PRIMER. By Morris L. Ernst. Illustrated by Walter Cole. Putnam, N. Y., 1931, pp. 158. Price \$2.

An entirely different kind of book from "New Russia's Primer"; hence the title, viewed alone, is likely to mislead. The Russian Primer is propaganda; in *America's Primer* the author attempts to analyze our national pattern, or confusion of patterns, and sets forth some of the violent contrasts to be found in our social and economic order.

Mr. Ernst, a middle-of-the-road liberal, thinks we need a national plan, but he himself offers none. The chief value of the book is that it brings together enough detail to convince us of some of the absurdities consequent upon our trying to adjust outworn conceptions to new realities. For example, we boast that America is a land of self-reliant individualism; but in practice we modify it, by mergers, by price-fixing, by sundry kinds of racketeering, by regulating public utilities, by types of insurance which increase the gambling spirit. The author points out that in view of so much half-way interference with competition in favor of special interests, it would be but a short step to some coherent national plan in the general interest.

RED MAN OR WHITE: A STORY OF INDIAN LIFE IN THE NORTHWEST. By R. Clyde Ford, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti. Lyons and Carnahan, Chicago and New York, 1931, pp. 264. Price \$.88.

Once again, in this tale of an orphaned white boy living among the Redskins in the days of the *coureur-de-bois* and the *voyageur*, R. Clyde Ford has invoked the spirit of the past. At the time of this narrative, much of the country was still being contested between the British, or Sagonash as the Indians called them, and the Americans, who were known as the Long Knives.

Prof. Ford tells in the preface how he came into possession of the manuscript which forms the basis for this story. The document, yellow and time-stained, was found among the papers of William Barton who died in Minneapolis in 1875. Barton's early youth had been spent in the Upper Mississippi Country in what is now largely Minnesota and Wisconsin, and his days were filled with tragedy and adventure. He himself referred to that period of life among the Indians as his "savage years." The author of *Red Man or White* has rewritten this narrative for youthful readers and has done it with charm and vividness. The book makes a delightful gift volume for children and with its large type and pleasing illustrations is admirably adapted for school use.

Dr. Ford has achieved something more than a mere picturesque and entertaining story. His Indians, traders, and soldiers have the breath of life in them. There is drama and adventure as well as beauty and tenderness in the little book. For the sheer thrill of simple and vivid description it would be difficult to find anything finer than the following description of an Indian War Council.

"It was a wild, weird scene. The great fires threw a murky, wavering light over the place; the boom of the drums was mournful and dirge-like; and the frenzied dance, kept up by shuffling, painted figures, bent almost double, added a sinister effect to the picture. As one dancer tired, another leaped into the ring and took his place, and in a few minutes was possessed by the same wild madness. The dancing went on for an hour or more with ever increasing fervor, then came an interruption. A chief, loaded with trappings, and painted and greased as if for the war-trail, arose from his place in the circle of on-lookers and came towards the dancers. At a signal from him the drums ceased, the chanting stopped, the mad dancers retired to their seats. Somebody tossed a blanket into the open space, and then the chief laid there a magnificent wampus belt, first holding it up so all could see it.

"A hush like death fell over the company, for everybody noted the stripes in it and knew that it was a ceremonial challenge to the council to talk of war. . . ."

THE TREASURE CHEST AND OTHER SKETCHES. By Walter A. Terpenning, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology, Western State Teachers College. Horton-Beimer Co., Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1932, pp. 147. Price \$1.00.

This book is the best "dollar's worth" we have seen in 1932. Several of these essays have appeared in this Magazine. The reader of the Magazine will find a familiar name at the end of the Introductory Note, which closes with the assurance that

"The reader of the book will be led to review his own life and to enjoy again the treasures new and old stored in the chest of memory. His thought will be directed to the generations of the past who have striven and fallen for the right as they saw it and who make us ashamed to do less. He will be introduced to some of the characters who play comedy parts in life's drama and will be led to appreciate some humble folk who do the work of the world. He will be warned against the sin of calling anything common, even his dog. He will enjoy some of the pleasures and pains of travel both at home and abroad without the expense of railroad or steamship fares. He will be reminded of the advantages of good fellowship and neighborliness between men and nations. This book will help the reader to develop an appreciation and a capacity for making contact with the best that has been said and thought in the world".

In this number of the Magazine appears an article by Prof. Terpenning on "Village and Open Country Communities in Michigan". It reflects the scholarly spirit of his recent book, *Village and Open Country Neighborhoods* (Century Co.), which was reviewed in the winter number of the Magazine, 1932. Every school in Michigan ought to have both of these volumes.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S PIONEER SON: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF COLONEL WILLIAM STEPHEN HAMILTON: 1797-1850. By Sylvan J. Muldoon, Member of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The Aurand Press, Harrisburg, Pa., 1930, pp. 246. Price \$5.

This volume is a clear and simple story of the life and times of a son of the great statesman and it bears evidence of much research.

William Hamilton was born Aug. 4, 1797, and died Aug. 7, 1850. The period covered by the volume is principally the 30 years previous to 1850,—his pioneer days in New York, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and California. This youth was filled with a desire for adventure, hence his life is scarcely to be judged by the standards of the conventional aristocracy of his day. He trained at West Point, pioneered in Missouri and Illinois, became a member of the legislature from Sangamon County in 1824; was aide-de-camp to Governor Coles,

practiced law, surveyed Peoria and the French claims; was a colonel in the Winnebago War, pioneered in Michigan in 1828, organized the Pecatorica Navigation Company, was a captain in the Black Hawk War; became president of the Wisconsin pre-territorial convention in 1836, founded Muscoda, commanded the First Iowa Brigade in 1837, was a member of the Wisconsin legislature in 1842, and went overland with the '49ers in the great rush to the "Golden West." It is a fascinating story.

Unfortunately the book lacks an index.

A BOOK OF THE LAWYERS QUADRANGLE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. Published at Ann Arbor by authority of the Regents of the University of Michigan, the Board of Governors and the Council of the Lawyers Club. 1931.

"William W. Cook of the Class of '82, had a dream, and he lived in this dream from its inception until his death. It was to develop a great law school, housed in the most inspiring of buildings and devoted to the ideal of creating leaders of men. He often said, 'Intellectual leadership is the greatest problem which faces America today; without leaders we perish.' This he placed above all else.

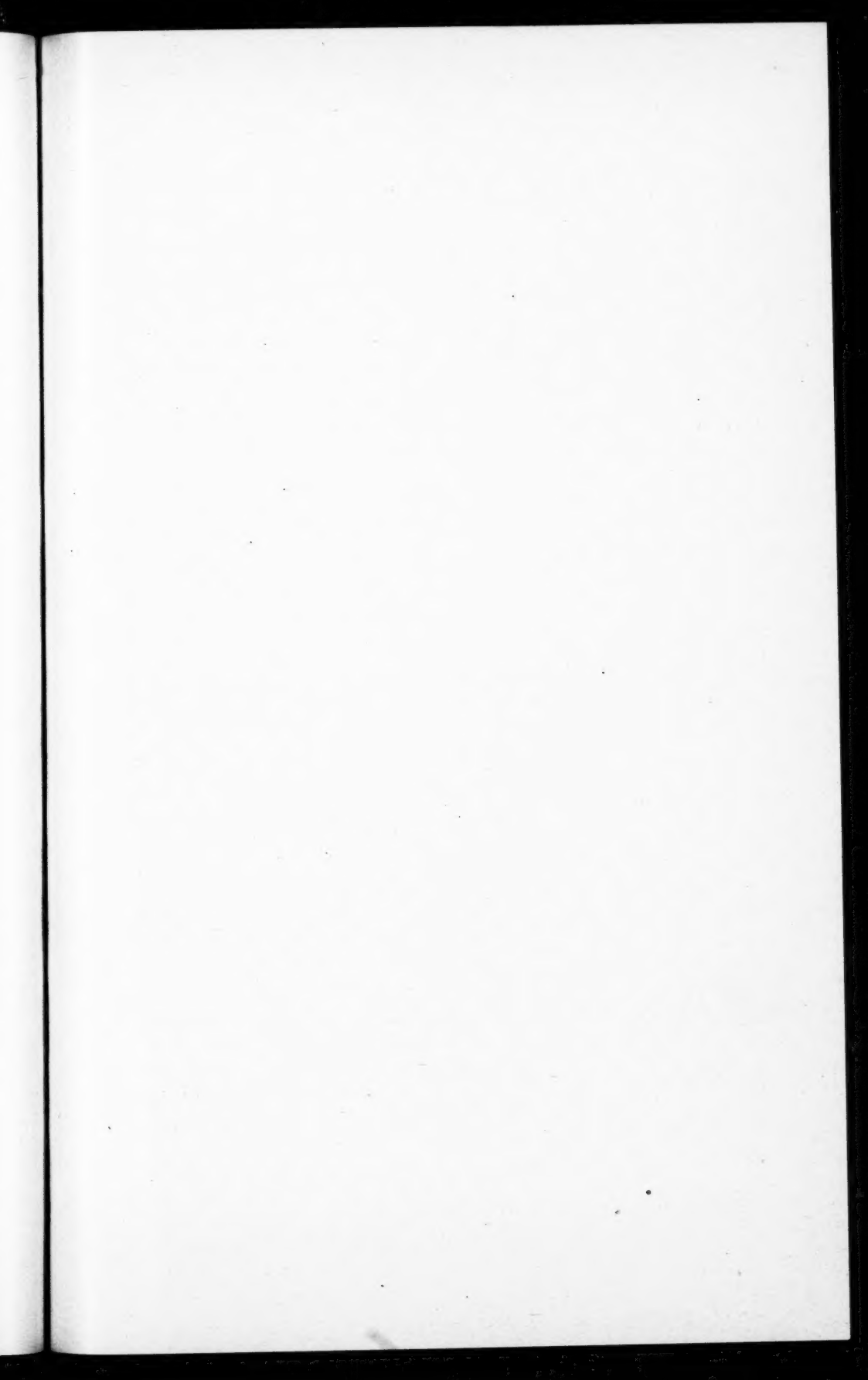
"With these ideals in mind he proceeded with his work. Architects and artists were dispatched to centers of learning both here and abroad in order that the law school buildings would become outstanding monuments of American architecture, a credit to himself, to the University, and to the country.

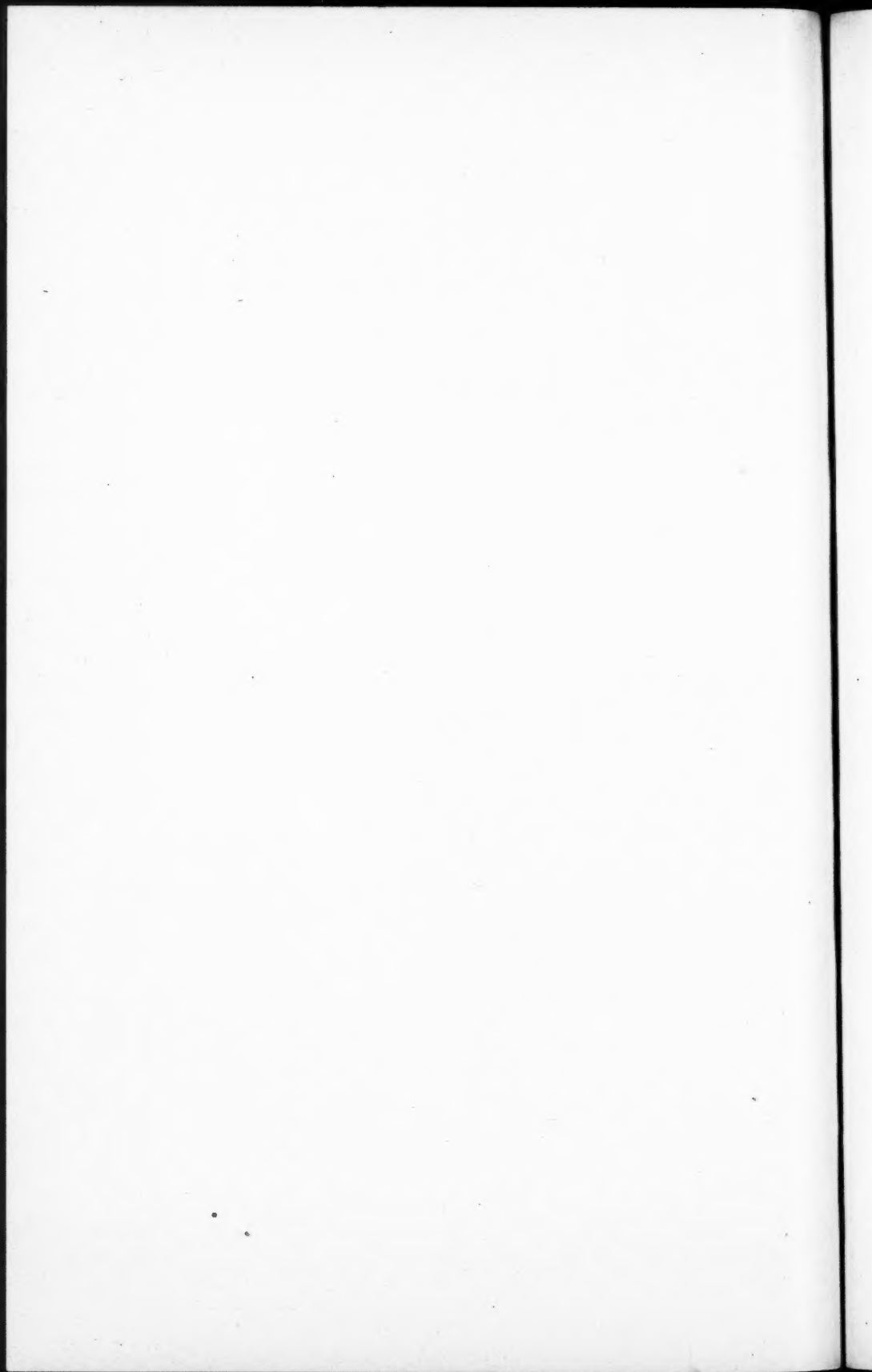
"Upon his death he endowed the Law School under a perpetual trust in order that his ideal might be given effect forever.

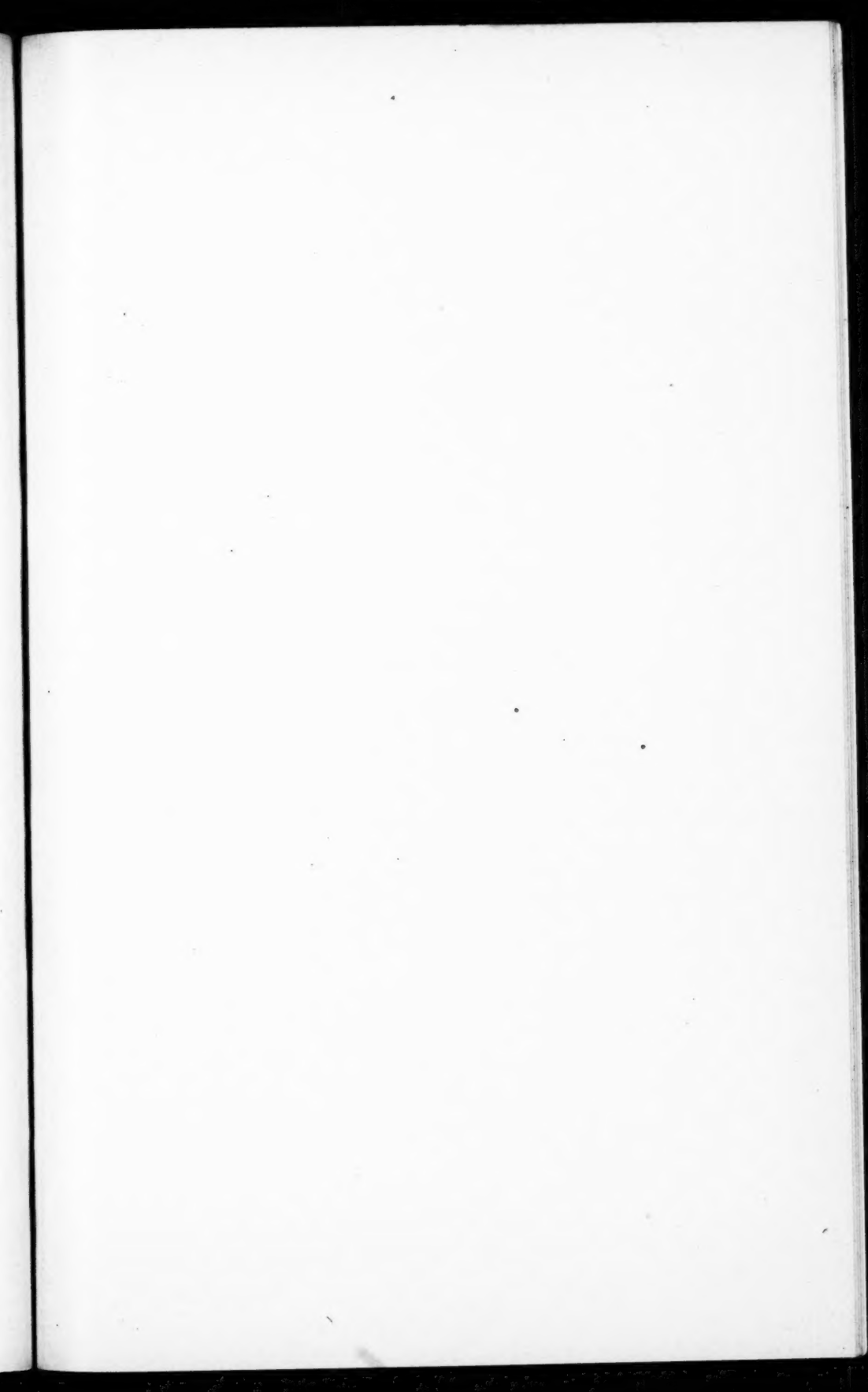
"Many people have wondered why Mr. Cook would never visit Ann Arbor to view the beautiful buildings which he was constructing. His answer was—"It might spoil my dream."

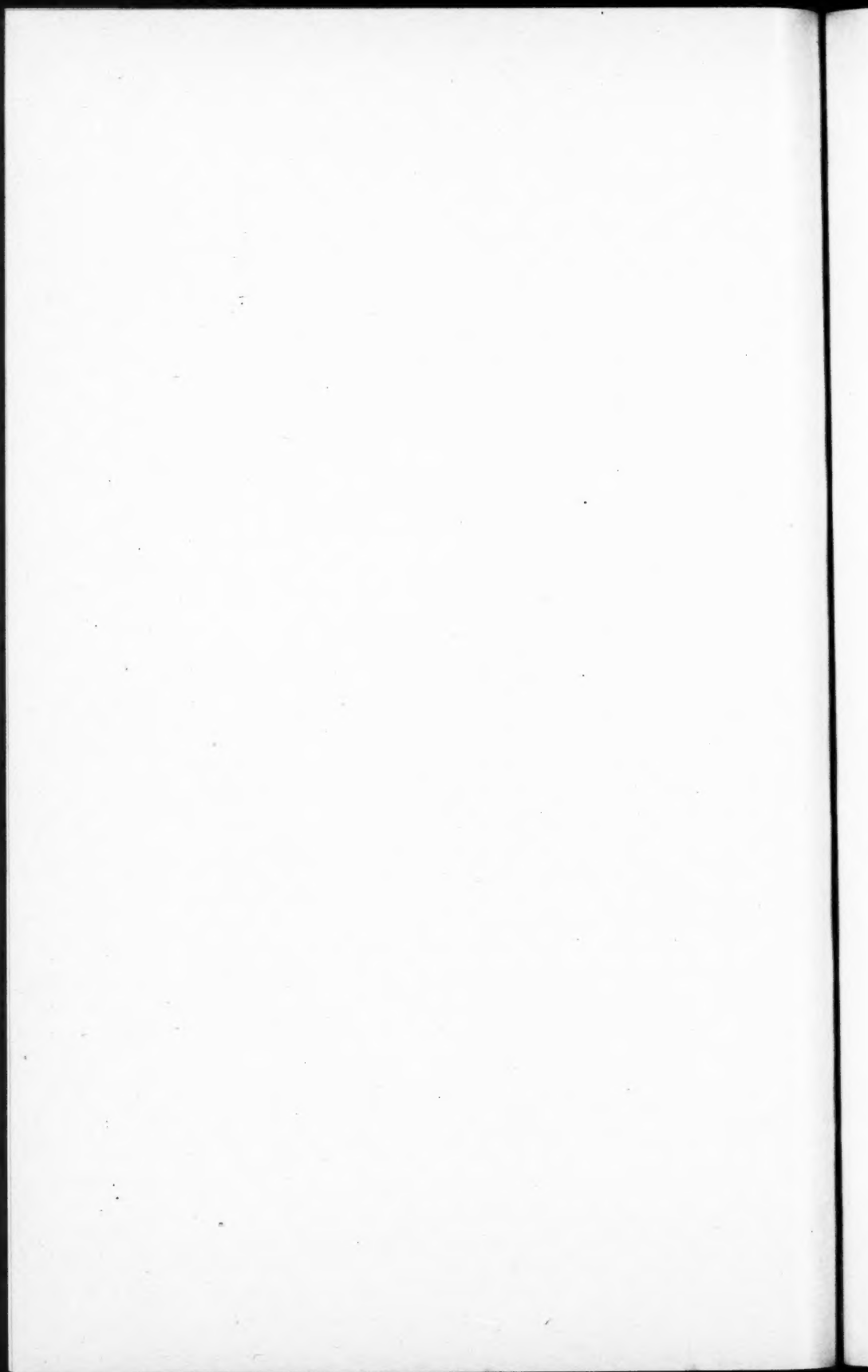
"William W. Cook has passed on, but his dream will continue to unfold and come to its fruition. These monumental buildings and his far-sighted endowment bespeak his great love for his Alma Mater, his profession, and his country."

These words of appreciation written by Miss Emma Laubenheimer, formerly secretary to Mr. Cook, open this brochure of two score pages describing the history and the buildings of this memorial. The text is printed upon book plate paper and is beautifully illustrated upon nearly every page. Copies may be obtained from the University.

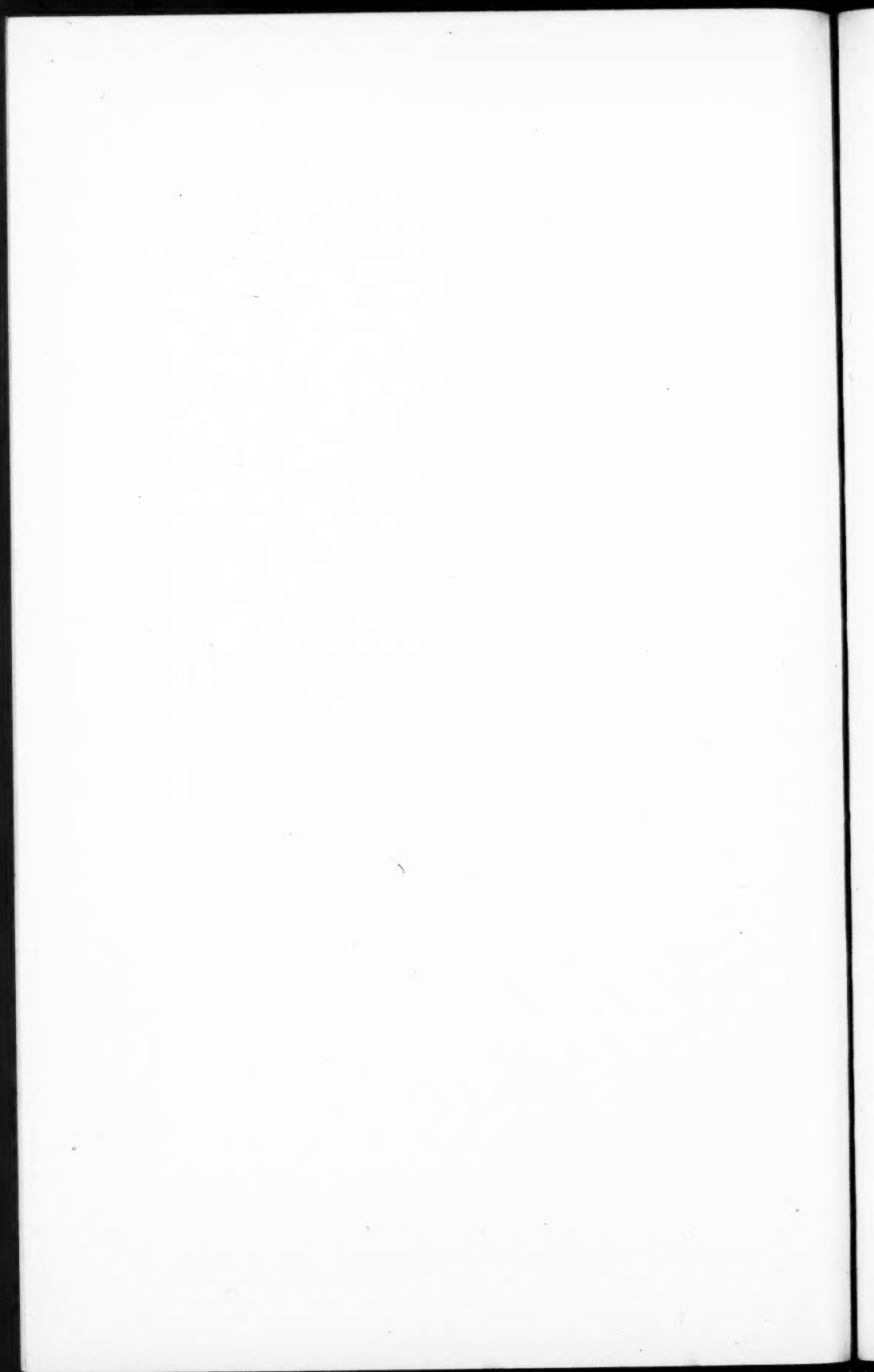








INDEX
MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE
VOLUME XVI, 1932



MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XVI, 1932

INDEX

(Italics indicate titles)

- About the Evergreen Island of Saint Helena* (Fox), 183
 Adams, Randolph G., *Notes on Portraits of George Washington Owned in Michigan*, 304
 Agriculture, Hiram Moore memorial, 85; see also Terpenning
Alexander Hamilton's Pioneer Son: The Life and Times of Colonel William Stephen Hamilton: 1797-1850 (Muldoon), reviewed, 525
 Allen, Capt. Moses, 337
American Humor (Rourke), reviewed, 281
American Road to Culture, The (Counts), reviewed, 520
America's Primer (Ernst), reviewed, 523
America's Way Out: A Program for Democracy (Thomas), reviewed, 112
 Angell, Robert Cooley, *Sociological Theory and Social Research. Being Selected Papers of Charles Horton Cooley, Late Professor of Sociology in the University of Michigan*, reviewed, 368
Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 and the Progress of the Industrial Revolution in France, The (Dunham), reviewed, 114
 Animals, elk, 42; buffalo in early Michigan, 513
 Anniversaries, Michigan State College, 493
Archeological Atlas of Michigan (Hinsdale), reviewed, 108
 Art, Flint Institute, 92
 Au Sable, lumbermen's memorial, 497; poem, 503; story of lumbering days, 504
 Banking Department, 99
 Barnard, Henry, 452
 Barnes, Harry Elmer, *World Politics in Modern Civilization*, reviewed, 519
 Barnes, Mary Clark, *Kendall Brooks, D. D., President Kalamazoo College, 1868-1887*, 200
 Baw Beese, Indian chieftain, 337
Baw Beese Lake (Moore), 334
 Bay City, home of Medor and Sallie Tromble (picture), 353
 Beckhardt, L. F. (picture), 341
 Bennis, F. Lee, *Europe Since 1914*, reviewed, 278
Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan 1804-1880 (Karpinski), reviewed, 106
 Bibliography, see Karpinski, Guide to Historical Literature
 Biographies, see name of subject
 Blackbird, William, note by Robert Wright, 358
Book of the Lawyers Quadrangle at the University of Michigan, A, reviewed, 526
 Bowden, Robert Douglas, *In Defense of Tomorrow*, reviewed, 280
Brass Hat in No Man's Land, A (Crozier), reviewed, 278
 Briggs, Mrs. Walter O., owner of a Stuart portrait of Washington, 305
 Brooks, Mrs. Kendall (picture), 201
 Brooks, Kendall, president of Kalamazoo College 1886-1887, (picture), 201, 211
 Brucker, Wilber M., *Address presenting the results of the special session of the Legislature, called Mar. 29, 1932*, 289

- Buffalo, in early Michigan, 513
Burr "Conspiracy" and the Old Northwest, The (Dunbar), 143
- Cadillac* (Laut), reviewed, 282
Calumet and Hecla Copper Mines: An Episode in the Economic Development of Michigan (Wax), 5
- Campau, Louis, 328
 Campbell, James V., letter to Silas Douglas, 441
- Canals, see Clinton-Kalamazoo Canal
- Cass, Lewis, portrait, 489
 Catlin, George B., *George Washington Looks Westward*, 127
- Chase, L. A., memoranda on the history of mineral lands, 262
- Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston S., *The World Crisis*, reviewed, 277
- Clements, William L., owner of a John Trumbull portrait of George Washington, 307
- Clinton-Kalamazoo Canal (Van Meer), 225
- Coffin, Robert P. Tristram, *Portrait of an American*, reviewed, 280
- Cold: The Record of an Antarctic Sledge Journey* (Gould), reviewed, 521
- Conrad, Lawrence H., *Jo Labadie—Poet*, 218
- Cooley, Thomas M., collection of Cooleyana, 516
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 309
- Cooper, William, 309
- Copper mining, see Calumet and Hecla Copper Mines
- Counts, George S., *The American Road to Culture*, reviewed, 520
- Courts, see Judiciary
- Cranbrook School, owner of a Rembrandt Peale Portrait of George Washington, 306
- Crozier, Brig.-Gen. F. P., *A Brass Hat in No Man's Land*, reviewed, 278
- Damphier—Whetham, *A History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion*, reviewed, 281
- Dana, Edward B., *Muskegon Fifty Years Ago*, 413
- Democracy, see Notch, Thomas
- Detroit Athletic Club, owners of a Stuart portrait of Washington, 305
- Detroit, foot-races in early days, 243
- Douglas, Samuel T., *The Pewabic Disaster*, 431
- Douglass, Silas H., Professor of Chemistry, University of Michigan, correspondence, 439; (picture), 441; letter to Maj. Jonathan Kearsley, 447; letter to R. C. Paine, 452; letter to C. H. Palmer, 449; letter to Dr. Zina Pitcher, 457
- Dunbar, Willis F., *The Burr "Conspiracy" and the Old Northwest*, 143
- Dunham, Arthur Louis, *The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1860 and the Progress of the Industrial Revolution in France*, reviewed, 114
- Early Days of the University of Michigan, The* (Shaw), 439
- Early Printing in Michigan, with a Bibliography of the Issues of the Michigan Press, 1796-1850* (McMurtrie), reviewed, 107
- Edinger, J. H., collection of Indian relics, 244
- Edison, Thomas A., see *How the Edison Phonograph Came to Michigan*, 59
- Education, see names of schools or colleges
- Elk in Michigan* (Mershon), 42
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, unpublished letters wanted, 103
- Erichsen, Hugo, *How the Edison Phonograph Came to Michigan*, 59
- Ernst, Morris L., *America's Primer*, reviewed, 523
- Europe from the Renaissance to 1815* (Hyma), reviewed, 522
- Europe Since 1914* (Benns), reviewed, 278

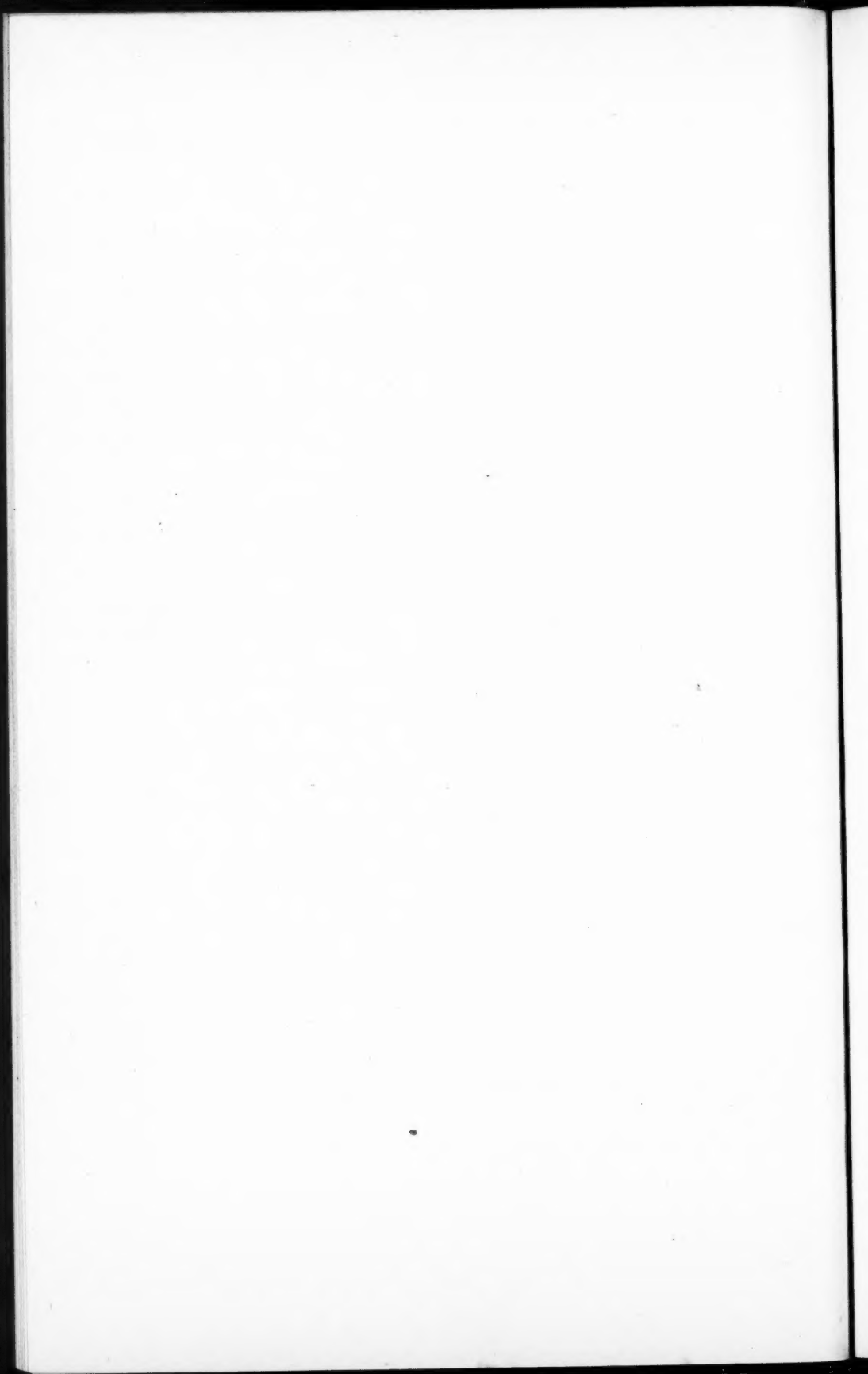
- Farming, see Agriculture
 Ferrey, Marie B., death, 487
 Fielding, Mantle, *The Life Portraits of Washington and their Replicas*, 304
Fifty Famous Letters of History (Gentry), reviewed, 367
 Fisher, Charles T., owner of a Stuart portrait of Washington, 305
 Fisher, James, writings, 94
 Fitzsimmons, P. W. A., historical collection, 249
Flag of the United States, The: Its History and Symbolism (Moss), reviewed, 283
 Flint Institute of Arts, description, 92
 Florer, Warren W., *The Liberty Meeting in Detroit Dec. 1851*, 398
 Folwell, William Watts, *A History of Minnesota*, reviewed, 367
 Ford, R. Clyde, *Red Man or White: A Story of Indian Life in the Northwest*, reviewed, 524
 Forest fires, see *Personal Reminiscences of the Big Fire of 1871*
 Forts, see Riddell, Pontiac
 Fox, Frances Margaret, *About the Evergreen Island of Saint Helena*, 183
 Freight, shipping cost in 1770 on Great Lakes, 259
 French in America, see *Late Official Report on the French Posts in the Northern Part of North America*
 Gagnieur, W. F., correction of place names, 365
 Gauss, Christian, *Life in College*, reviewed, 519
 Gentry, Curtis, *Fifty Famous Letters of History*, reviewed, 367
 George Washington Looks Westward (Catlin), 127
 Germans, see *The Liberty Meeting in Detroit Dec. 1851*
 Gibbs, Sir Philip, *Since Then*, reviewed, 279
 Gladwin, Henry, letters, 490
 Gould, Laurence McKinley, *Cold: The Record of an Antarctic Sledge Journey*, reviewed, 521
 Government, see names of state commissions and departments
Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928, The (Slosson), reviewed, 368
 Great Lakes, cost of freight in 1770, 259
 Greening, Josephine Tromblé, *A Pioneer Wedding*, 348
Guide to Historical Literature (Allison, Fay, Shearer, Shipman), reviewed, 104
 Hall, James, 215
 Hamtramck, Visual Education Museum, 250
 Harvester combine, 85
 Hazard, Lucy Lockwood, *In Search of America*, reviewed, 518
Henry Whiting (Jenks), 174
 Higgins Lake, name, 364
 Hinsdale, Wilbert B., *Archeological Atlas of Michigan*, reviewed, 108
Historical Atlas of the Great Lakes and Michigan (Karpinski), reviewed, 107
 Historical Societies, see names of
 Historic Tree contest, winner, 91
History of Minnesota, A (Folwell), reviewed, 367
History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion, A (Dampier-Whetham), reviewed, 281
 Holland, early shipping on Black Lake, 254
 Hoover, Herbert, *A Notable Memorial Address*, 123
 Houghton, Douglass, 216; (picture), 443
 Houghton Lake, name, 364
How the Edison Phonograph Came to Michigan (Erichsen), 59
 Hyma, Albert, *Europe from the Renaissance to 1815*, reviewed, 522; *The Youth of Erasmus*, reviewed, 522
In Defense of Tomorrow (Bowden), reviewed, 280
 Indians, Edinger collection, 244; *Indians of Barry County and the Work of Leonard Slater, the Missionary*, The (Weissert), 321;

- Blackbird, note, 359; present status in Michigan, 360; Gladwin letters, 490; see also Hinsdale
- Insurance Department, 101
- Ioway to Iowa* (Richman), reviewed, 370
- Islands, see *About the Evergreen Island of Saint Helena*
- Itasca lake, celebration of discovery, 511
- Jacks, L. V., *La Salle*, reviewed, 370
- Jackson, Hazel A., poem on "Lumber-Jacks", 503
- James Fenimore Cooper and Oak Openings* (Oakley), 309
- Jenks, William L., *Henry Whiting*, 174
- Jo Labadie—Poet* (Conrad), 218
- Judiciary, discovery of early Supreme Court records, 491
- Kalamazoo College, early campus views of, (pictures), 207
- Karpinski, Louis, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan 1804-1880*, reviewed, 106; *Historical Atlas of the Great Lakes and Michigan*, reviewed, 107
- Kedzie, Frank S., *Sugar Production in Michigan*, 296
- Kedzie, Dr. Robert C., (picture), 299
- Kendall Brooks, D. C., *President Kalamazoo College, 1868-1887* (Barnes), 200
- King Mob: A Study of the Present-Day Mind*, (Notch), reviewed, 112
- Kinkel, Prof. Gottfried, 400
- Knauss, Prof. James O., *Syllabus of Michigan History for Schools and Colleges*, 464
- Labadie, Joe (picture), 219
- LaSalle* (Lockridge), reviewed, 116; (Jacks), reviewed, 370
- Late Official Report on the French Posts in the Northern Part of North America*, A (Riddell), 68
- Laut, Agnes C., *Cadillac*, reviewed, 282
- Legislature, results of the special session called on Mar. 29, 1932, 289
- Lenawee County, memories of, 248
- Leutze, Emmanuel, portrait painter, 307
- Liberty Meeting in Detroit Dec. 1851, The* (Florer), 398
- Life in College* (Gauss), reviewed, 519
- Lincoln and His Cabinet* (Macartney), reviewed, 105
- "Lincoln's failures," 95
- Lockridge, Ross F., *La Salle*, reviewed, 116
- Lumbering scenes (pictures), 415
- Lumbermen, characterization, 93; memorial, 497; poem, 503
- Lyman, George D., *John Marsh, Pioneer, The Life Story of a Trail-Blazer on Six Frontiers*, reviewed, 116
- McCormick, James, 350
- McCormick, Sallie, 348
- McCoy, Rev. Isaac, Baptist missionary, 326
- McMurtrie, Douglas C., *Early Printing in Michigan, with a Bibliography of the Issues of the Michigan Press, 1796-1850*, reviewed, 107
- Macartney, Clarence Edward, *Lincoln and His Cabinet*, reviewed, 105
- Maps of Michigan, 106
- Marine, see Great Lakes
- Marquette County Historical Society, report, 260
- Marsh, John,—Pioneer. The Life Story of a Trail-Blazer on Six Frontiers* (Lyman), reviewed, 116
- Memorial Day Address (Hoover), 123
- Memorials, lumbermen, 497
- Menominee, forest fire at, 422
- Mershon, Wm. B., *Elk in Michigan*, 42
- Michigan Historical Commission, nineteenth annual report, 232
- Michigan-Indiana-Ohio Museums Association, fifth annual meeting, 267
- Michigan State College, 75th anniversary, 493

- Michigan State Historical Society, annual meeting, 82; announcement of annual meeting, 357; members outside of state added in 1931, 517
- Mineral lands, memoranda, 264
- Mines and Mining, see *Calumet and Hecla Copper Mines*; writings of James Fisher, 94
- Minnesota, Folwell's History, reviewed, 367
- Missions, see Indians
- Monuments, see Lumbermen
- Moore, Hiram, memorial erected, 85
- Moore, Vivian Lyon, *Baw Beese Lake*, 334
- Morgan, John Hill, *The Life Portraits of Washington and their Replicas*, 304
- Moss, Colonel James A., *The Flag of the United States: Its History and Symbolism*, reviewed, 283
- Mound Builders (Shetrone), reviewed, 366
- Muldoon, Sylvan J., *Alexander Hamilton's Pioneer Son: The Life and Times of Colonel William Stephen Hamilton: 1797-1850*, reviewed, 525
- Museum, University, 109; Edinger collection, 244; Hamtramck, 250; fifth annual meeting Michigan-Indiana-Ohio Museums Association, 267
- Muskegon Fifty Years Ago (Dana), 413
- My Experiences in the World War* (Pershing), reviewed, 104
- Names, corrections, 365
- Naturalist in a University Museum*, A (Ruthven), reviewed, 109
- Newfang, Oscar, *The United States of the World*, reviewed, 279
- Notch, Frank K., *King Mob: A Study of the Present-Day Mind*, reviewed, 112
- Notes on Portraits of George Washington* (Adams), 304
- Oakley, Kate Russell, *James Fenimore Cooper and Oak Openings*, 309
- Our Times: The United States 1900-1925; III Pre-War America* (Sullivan) reviewed, 367
- Pattengill, H. R., unpublished letters wanted, 276
- Peale, Rembrandt, portrait painter, 306
- Pershing, John J., *My Experiences in the world War*, reviewed, 104
- Personal Reminiscences of the Big Fire of 1871* (Sawyer), 422
- Pewabic Disaster, The* (Douglas), 431
- Pewabic, Great Lakes steamer (picture), 433
- Phonograph, first in Michigan, 59
- Pioneer of Old Superior*, A (Stewart), reviewed, 366
- Pioneers, see Lumbermen; Marsh; Portrait of an American; Silliman; Greening
- Pioneer Wedding*, A (Greening), 348
- Pitcher, Zina, letter to Professors Säger and Douglass, 458; picture, 459
- Pontiac conspiracy, Gladwin letters, 490
- Portrait of An American* (Coffin), reviewed, 280
- Printing, see McMurtie
- Public Utilities Commission, functions, 95
- Puritan's Progress* (Train), reviewed, 523
- Ranville, Margaret (Couchane), (picture), 195
- Red Man or White: A Story of the Indian Life in the Northwest* (Ford), reviewed, 524
- Remarque, Erich Maria, *The Road Back*, reviewed, 115
- Rhodes, Charles D., William Rufus Shafter, 375
- Richman, Irving B., *Ioway to Iowa*, reviewed, 370
- Riddell, Wm. Renwick, *A Late Official Report on the French Posts in the Northern Part of North America*, 68
- Rivers, see Au Sable memorial, 497

- Road Back, The* (Remarque), reviewed, 115
- Rowke, Constance, American Humor*, reviewed, 281
- Russians* (White), book review, 279
- Ruthven, Alexander G., *A Naturalist in a University Museum*, reviewed, 109
- Sager, Abram, letter to Dr. Zina Pitcher, 457; (picture), 457
- Saint Helena Island, scenes on (pictures), 185
- St. Joseph in Homespun* (Silliman), reviewed, 370
- Sawyer, Mrs. Josephine, *Personal Reminiscences of the Big Fire of 1871*, 422
- Schurz, Carl, 400; letters, 269
- Search of America, In* (Hazard), reviewed, 518
- Securities Commission, functions, 98
- Sellers, Bud, "The Hermit of Cedar Island" (picture), 345
- Severance, Henry Ormal, *The Story of a Village Community*, reviewed, 368
- Shafter, William R.* (Rhodes), 375; (picture), 377
- Shaw, Wilfred B., *The Early Days of the University of Michigan*, 439
- Sherzer, W. H., *An Unpublished Episode in Early Michigan History*, 214
- Shetrone, Henry Clyde, *The Mound Builders*, reviewed, 366
- Shipping, early, on Black Lake, 254
- Silliman, Sue I., *St. Joseph in Homespun*, reviewed, 370
- Since Then* (Gibbs), reviewed, 279
- Slater, Leonard, Missionary work among the Indians, 321
- Slosson, Preston W., *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928*, reviewed, 368
- Smith, W. F., story of lumbering days, 504
- Sociological Theory and Social Research. Being Selected Papers of Charles Horton Cooley, Late Professor of Sociology in the University of Michigan*, (Angell), reviewed, 368
- Stewart, Lillian Kimball, *A Pioneer of Old Superior*, reviewed, 366
- Story of a Village Community, The* (Severance), reviewed, 368
- Strang, James J., 192
- Stuart, Gilbert, painter of portraits of George Washington, 304
- Sugar Production in Michigan* (Kedzie), 296
- Sullivan, Mark, *Our Times: The United States 1900-1925; III. Pre-War America*, reviewed, 367
- Supreme Court, early reports discovered, 491
- Syllabus of Michigan History for Schools and Colleges* (Knauss), 464
- Tappan, Henry, letter to Silas Douglas, 454; (picture), 455
- Terpenning, Walter A., *Village and Open Country Communities in Michigan*, 384; *Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods*, reviewed, 109; *The Treasurer Chest and Other Sketches*, reviewed, 525
- Terwilliger, C. W. (picture), 341
- These Russians* (White), reviewed, 279
- Thomas, George H., 377
- Thomas, Norman, *America's Way Out: A Program for Democracy*, reviewed, 112
- Train, Arthur, *Puritan's Progress*, reviewed, 523
- Treasure Chest and Other Sketches, The* (Terpenning), reviewed, 525
- Trees, historic tree contest, 91
- Tromblé, Medor, 349
- Trumbull, John, portrait painter, 306
- United States of the World, The* (Newfang), reviewed, 279
- University of Michigan, see *The Early Day of the University of Michigan*
- Unpublished Episode in Early Michigan History, An* (Sherzer), 214
- Van Eyck, William, shipping on Black River, 254

- Van Meer, Leo, *Clinton-Kalamazoo Canal*, 225
- Van Valkenburgh, E. B., (picture), 341
- Van Tyne, C. H., letters wanted, 516
- Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods* (Terpenning), reviewed, 109
- Village and Open Country Communities in Michigan* (Terpenning), 384
- Walker, Henry N., letter to Silas Douglass, 444
- Wall Lake, see Severance
- Washington, bi-centennial notes, 357; Michigan Committee, 358
- Washington, George, bust of, presented to the State of Michigan, 83; *George Washington Looks Westward* (Catlin), 127; Notes on Portraits of (Adams), 304
- Wax, Anthony S., *Calumet and Hecla Copper Mines: An Episode in the Economic Development of Michigan*, 5
- Weissert, Charles A., *The Indians of Barry County and the Work of Leonard Slater, the missionary*, 321
- Wheelock, Charles, death, 248
- White, William C., *These Russians*, reviewed, 279
- Whiting, Henry, (Jenks), 174; picture), 175
- Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred, owners of a Stuart portrait of Washington, 305
- Wilson, J. D. (picture), 341
- Wood, Norman A., note on American buffalo in Michigan, 513
- World Crisis, The* (Churchill), reviewed, 277
- World Politics in Modern Civilization* (Barnes), reviewed, 519
- World War, see Brass Hat, World Crisis, Pershing, Remarque, Slosson
- Youth of Erasmus, The* (Hyma), reviewed, 522



11.8